The Philosophy of Krama Monism of Kashmir: An Analytical Study

(ABSTRACT)

Thesis Submitted
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the
University of Lucknow

By
Navjivan Rastogi

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is divided into two parts. The first part constitutes a historical and general survey of the system and the second embodies an analytical exposition of the monistic philosophy and esoteric tantricism of the Krama system. Let us have a brief look into the contents of the thesis chapterwise.

PART I

Chapter one, Krama as a Distinct system, seeks to analyse the fundamental features that impart a unique individuality to Krama as a system of Śaiva thought of Kashmir. On an examination of the traditional literature the following characteristic features emerge :-

(i) Krama is a Śakti-oriented and tantric system.

(ii) Despite a staunch monistic bias it leans towards monistic-dualistic character of Reality at the pragmatic level.

(iii) It is a process philosophy which advocates graduation in spiritual attainment.

(iv) For it self-realization consists in a synthesis of Bhoga and Mokṣa and not in ascetic aversion to life.

(v) The cosmic law of causation is transformed into absolutic functionalism.

(vi) It lays positive emphasis on the epistemic side of our experience.

(vii) It prefers the use of Prākṛta to any other language.

Chapter two, <u>On the nomenclature of the system,</u> seeks to bring out the philosophical basis of the various names of the system, such as Krama-naya, Mahārtha, Mahānaya, Atinaya, Devīnaya and Kālīnaya. The chapter includes a discussion on the concept of Krama as well, under 'Krama-naya'.

Chapter three, <u>Krama as a Tantric system,</u> constitutes an investigation into the fundamentals of the Krama Tantricism in the wider perspective of the esoteric tantricism of the monistic Śaivism of Kashmir. In this connection the difference between the Tantra-prakriyā and Kula-prakriyā has been brought out. The two phases of the Krama tantricism have also come up for discussion. It has been found that the rise of tantricism in Krama is a later development.

Chapter four, <u>Mutual Exchange with And impact on the other philosophical and Tantric systems,</u> tries to enquire into the sources of the influences responsible for the rise and development of particular doctrines or esoteric tendencies in the Krama system and also the scope of the impact of the latter

other allied systems. In this connection special reference has been made to Krama's correlation with the Spanda system with regard to the concepts of reality and fourfold absolutic functionalism. It has also been sought to find out why Abhinavagupta who has taken pains to further the traditions of all the schools of monistic Śaivism of Kashmir did not choose to write upon the Spanda system alone. The quantum of reciprocal exchange between Krama and the schools of Tripurā, Kula, Buddhist tantricism, Bhartṛhari and Pāñcarātra has also been assessed.

Chapter five, <u>Different traditions and sub-schools,</u> attempts a critical evaluation of the potential richness of the Krama system. First, the two subschools, namely Sāhasa and Chummā, are discovered for the first time and it has been shown that they happen to be identical in the last analysis. Attention has been drawn to another sub-school of the system which was advocated by the <u>Deviyāmala</u> and <u>Mādhavakula</u> (<u>Tantrarāja</u>) tantras and whose name is now lost to us. In this connection the two divergent traditions with regard to the nature and status of the Absolute, pentadic and quartic functionalism of the same, exact number of organs (aṅgas) of the Krama Yoga have also been sought to be thrown into relief.

Chapter six, <u>Sources and Literature,</u> constitutes the most significant section of the first part. It makes a reconstructive study of the Krama history and attempts an analysis of

the entire extant as well as otherwise known Krama literature with special reference to its authorship, historicity, availability, classification, subject-matter and chronology. The entire history of the Krama system passes through two broad phases, which have been discussed against their general historical backdrop. The period ranging from the 9th century to the 13th has been found to be the most productive.

In this connection certain entirely new names have been considered -

(i) Vātūlanātha, (ii) Gandhamādana, (iii) Siddhanātha, (iv) Bhaṭṭa Dāmodara, (v) Devabhaṭṭa, (vi) Somaputra, (vii) Ramyadeva, (viii) Loṣṭadeva, (ix) Anantaśaktipāda, (x) Bhaṭṭāraka.

The following Trika and Spanda scholars have been found to have affiliations with the Krama system and to have made significant contribution to it :-

(i) Vasugupta, (ii) Kallaṭa, (iii) Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, (iv) Somānanda, (v) Utpala, (vi) Bhāskara, (vii) Lakṣmaṇagupta, (viii) Bhaṭṭa Utpala, (ix) Bhūtirāja, (x) Kṣemarāja, (xi) Varadarāja, (xii) Śivānanda, (xiii) Jayaratha and (xiv) Śivopādhyāya.

Certain additional material has been furnished as regards the following authors :-

(i) Niṣkriyānandanātha, (ii) Kallaṭa, (iii) Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, (v) Lakṣmaṇagupta, (vi) Abhinavagupta, (vii) Hrasvanātha,

(viii) Cakrabhānu, (ix) Cakrapāṇi, (x) Śivānanda, (xi) Jayaratha, (xii) Śitikaṇṭha and (xiii) Śivopādhyāya.

Dates of the following authors have also been re-examined and modified consequently:-

(i) Śivānanda, the originator of the system, and his successors, (ii) Varadarāja, (iii) Hrasvanātha, (iv) Cakrabhānu, (iv) Śivānanda, the grand-teacher of Maheśvarānanda and (v) Śitikaṇṭha.

Certain established opinions about the following authors have been rejected and modifications thereof advanced:-

(i) Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, (ii) Bhāskara, the author of the Spanda-pradīpikā, (iii) Utpala, (iv) Lakṣmaṇagupta, (v) Kṣemarāja and (vi) Śivānanda, the grand-teacher of Maheśvarānanda.

The uncertain authorship of the following texts has been sought to be determined :-

(i) the Krama-stotra by an earlier author than Abhinava, (ii) the Cidgaganacandrikā assigned to Kālidāsa, (iii) Mahānāya-prakāśa published from Trivendrum, attributed to Abhinavagupta. These may now be attributed to Siddhanātha, Śrīvatsa and Śivānanda (the grand-teacher of Maheśvarānanda) respectively.

The following new names have been added to the list of the Krama texts - extant in reference only :-

(i) The Krama-rahasya, (ii) the Siddha-sūtra, (iii) the Amāvasyā-triṁśikā, (iv) the Rājikā.

The following works are actually found to be Krama texts, though hitherto unrecognized as such :-

(i) The Chummā-sampradāya (MS), (ii) The Bhāvopahāra with Vivaraṇa, (iii) the Cidgagana-candrikā and (iv) the Vātūlanātha-sūtra.

The following texts are not exclusive Krama texts though recognized as such by Dr.K.C.Pandey :-

(i) Brahmayāmala, (ii) Tantrarāja-bhaṭṭāraka, (iii) Dehasthadevatā-cakra-stotra of Abhinava, (iv) Ṛjuvimarśinī, (v) Krama-vāsanā. Instead they deal with other systems.

Chapter seven, Krama's place in the wider framework of Kashmir Śaivism with an eye upon its general tantric character, furnishes an account of synthesis between the Śaiva metaphysics of Kashmir and Tantricism. In this connection it discusses Jayaratha's approach to the tantric concept of the sixfold Artha as comprehending the total tantric insight into Reality and brings out the synthesis between Śāktopāya (i.e. Krama) and Nigarbhārtha plus Kaulikārtha (i.e. Tantra). This Chapter marks the end of the first part of the thesis.

PART II

Chapter one, The Krama system as Śāktopāya, seeks to discuss the Krama guide-line for self-realization in all its

aspects. This chapter serves as an introduction to the philosophical part of the dissertation. The chapter, first, deals with the metaphysics of spiritual approach called Upāya and its fourfold division into Śāmbhava etc., and then takes up the Śāktopāya which is identified with the Krama system. Among other important issues the chapter deals with the Krama concept of liberation as a harmony of Bhoga and Mokṣa. It has been shown how this ideal is radically different from that in the other systems of Indian philosophy. Of all the nine Prameyas outlined by Abhinavagupta the chapter deals with seven in detail and the remaining two - Samviccakrodaya and Mantra - only briefly. The concept of purification of Vikalpa (Vikalpa-saṁskāra), the first prameya, is said to owe partially its origin to the Buddhist theory of instantaneous being (Kṣaṇikavāda), Law of contradiction (Apohana). The genesis of the Vikalpa-saṁskāra is partially traced to Bhartṛhari's Śabdapūrvayoga and Śabda-saṁskāra. It has been demonstrated that Jayaratha is mistaken in presenting the sixfold yogic discipline as representative of Krama. In fact Jayaratha was lured by the Ṣaḍaṅgayoga of the Guhya Samāja Tantra. In discussing another Prameya described as "Niṣedhavidhi-tulyatva" the position of the Śaiva scriptures has been examined and an analysis of the traditional Krama attitude towards sister systems attempted. The greatest achievement of the Krama lies in its advocacy of the multiplicity of approaches towards spiritual life. Due cognizance has been taken to Kṣemarāja's contribution in suggesting various sub-upāyas in this context. The chapter closes with a note on the originality of the Krama concept of the Absolute and also with the aesthetic margins of the Krama

theory.

Chapter two, Kālī or Kāla-saṁkarṣiṇī: The Metaphysical Absolute, constitutes a study of the ultimate unitary principle with particular reference to its etymological relationship with the root idea of dynamism technically styled as Kalana and its precedents in the history of thought. In this connection the impact of Bhartṛhari's Kālaśakti on the concept of Kālī in the Krama system has been brought out. The root idea behind the concept of Kālī stems from the notions of Kāla and Kalana. The latter is an extremely important concept and has been construed as Kṣepa, Jñāna, Saṁkhyāna, Gati and Nāda. This opportunity has been fully exploited to discuss the philosophical concept of Krama as synonymous with Kāla. Various significations and geneses of the word 'Kālī' have been considered and their precise implications discussed. The notion of Kālī offers an interesting phenomenon of comparative tantricism and marks a culmination of various philosophical and mythical concepts of time (Kāla).

Chapter three, Dynamic Absolutism, seeks to study the Absolutic dynamism in all its aspects, e.g., ontological, epistemic and esoteric, vis-a-vis the five cycles, namely, Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Saṁhāra, Anākhyā and Bhāsā. In fact these cycles are the esoteric transøformation of fivefold Absolutic functionalism expressed by the phrase Pañcakṛtyakāritā. In the typical Krama parlance it passes under the name of Pañcārtha or Catuṣṭayārtha. These two phrases are typical of the two schools with regard to

the precise nature and mode of the Absolutic functioning. This difference has conditioned the development of all the Krama dicta, which has occasionally been presented as the pentadic or the quartic tendency of the system. The chapter takes note of its consequences and discusses each concept in its historical perspective. Anākhyā, of all the functional cycles, is equated with Saṁviccakra and constitutes the most important aspect of the system. Under the Saṁviccakra the famous twelve Kālikās find place. Apart from their esoteric symbolism, they are basically epistemic concepts couched in esoteric phraseology. The chapter makes an elaborate attempt to study the underlying epistemic notions represented by each Kālī. In this context the Krama theory of perception, judgment (Adhyavasāya) etc., have been specially discussed. From the point of view of the Krama metaphysics their correlation with the idea of Vikalpa-saṁskāra and five-fold Kalana has also been expatiated upon. A special effort has been made to account for the synthetic and all-inclusive character of all the functional cycles as conforming to the Krama notion of Dynamic Absolutism.

Chapter four, Dynamic Absolutism vis-a-vis Pañcavāha and Pīṭhaniketana, carries the above conclusion further. It seeks to inquire into the substructure and the super-structure of the Krama esotericism with special reference to two technical Krama concepts, i.e., Pañcavāha and Pīṭhaniketana. The Pañcavāha stands for the five spiritual currents namely Vāmeśvarī, Khecarī,

Gocarī, Dikcarī and Bhūcarī as embodying the fundamental constitution of our experience and existence and the epistemic process linking up all the aspects through a thread of unity. In another scheme of the Pañcavāha Saṁhāra-bhakṣiṇī and Raudreśvarī are introduced in place of Khecarī and Vāmeśvarī respectively. The other concept, i.e., Pīṭhaniketana symbolizes the gross physical seat of the Supreme Consciousness. Besides taking into consideration all the esoteric and doctrinal aspects of the problem the chapter makes an earnest effort to discover their underlying philosophic significance.

Chapter five, <u>Dynamic Absolutism vis-á-vis Vṛnda-cakra,</u> treats of an issue that forms a part of the multi-dimensional scheme of self-elevation. In fact, the Pīṭhaniketana, Vṛnda Cakra and Pañcavāha mark out respectively the gross, the subtle and the transcendental nature of our own vision with regard to our physical frame acting as a fundamental fulcrum of the entire spiritual undertaking. It is to the second, i.e., the subtle body (Liṅga Śarīra), that the Vṛnda-cakra stands related. The Liṅga-śarīra in the system is designated as Puryaṣṭaka. The chapter discusses in detail the nature, composition and place of Vṛndacakra and highlights the role of the processes called Haṭhapāka and Alaṁgrāsa. It also considers in detail the seventy mystic categories of and eight-fold approach to the Vṛnda-cakra. The chapter closes with an analysis of the sub-structure of the Vṛnda-cakra with special reference to the Krama concept of liberation.

Chapter six, Dynamic Absolutism as Cognitive Trinity, offers an esoteric-cum-epistemic analysis of the three aspects of the cognitive process, namely, Pramāṇa, Prameya and Pramātā symbolized by Netra-tritaya comprising Prakāśa, Ānanda and Mūrti Cakras. It constitutes an enquiry into the additional significance of Pañcavāha and brings out the bearings of the three cycles on the system.

Chapter seven, Dynamic Absolutism as speech, embodies an approach to the study of the Krama philosophy of Mantra and language with reference to the rise of the determinate consciousness or mental construction (Vikalpa) and cosmic emanation. In a sense it deals with Mantra or Vāk, one of the essential integrants of the system, and takes into account the Śaiva philosophy of language with a side-glance at the western notion of Logos and re-affirms the conclusions of Dr.Kalidas Bhattacharya with regard to rationality and logicality of the Śaiva approach. On a thorough examination Mantra, Vāk and Vimarśa are found to be convertible notions. On an analysis of our empirical experience it has been found that the element of determinacy and its subsequent rise is inherent in the cosmic event which in itself transpires to be a deduction from Reality. This has been studied vis-a-vis the process of Ṣaḍadhva (six channels of Spiritual Energy). The Śaiva philosophy of language advocates four stages of speech - Parā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī. In this connection it is to be noted that Maheśvarānanda's

fivefold classification of speech adding Sūkṣmā between Parā and Madhyamā under the sway of the pentadic tendency of the system does not represent the general Krama view. The Krama system in general retains the fourfold classification. In this connection differences between Kṣemarāja and Maheśvarānanda, the two great Krama scholars, find a critical exposition. The chapter ends with suggesting a number of problems for future study and emphasizes that the nexus between thought and word is too close to be brushed aside as accidental.

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PREFACE

Perhaps the author owes an apology for undertaking research on the Krama system which has not been unfortunately, noticed by any traditional author of the available compendia like the Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha etc. It is rather equally curious to see the modern studies on the Indian philosophy in general and Tantricism in particular turn totally apathetic to such a system of philosophy barring a few honourable exceptions. The latter includes the second edition of Dr.K.C. Pandey's study on Abhinavagupta incorporating a chapter on the Krama system and discussing the same in broad outlines. In addition, one has one or two paragraphs from M.M. Dr.Gopinath Kaviraj on the same briefly dwelling upon some of its major aspects. (Vide his Preface to the Second edition, Tripurā Rahasya, Jñāna Khanda, p.iii; Tāntrika Vāṅmaya me Śākta Dṛṣṭi, Prastāvanā, p.4.)

It augurs well that the studies on the Kashmir Śaivism as well as on tantricism have come to gain slightly greater momentum since Woodroffe first undertook to enter the forbidden land. Yet it is unfortunate that dearth of analytical thinking coupled with detailed exploratory investigations into specific fields remains a constant handicap of a modern student. The net result is that a great deal of the Śaiva, Śākta and tantric wisdom is now lost to us and many of their important theses now look completely strange. M.M. Dr. G.N.Kaviraj in his recently

published work तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय में शाक्तदृष्टि (प्रस्तावना, पृ० ४) gives an eloquent expression to it : "क्रमतत्त्व, स्पन्दतत्त्व, पादुकातत्त्व, भासातत्त्व प्रभृति का विवेचन, साधन तथा दर्शनशास्त्र के क्षेत्र से एक प्रकार से निर्वासित हो चुका है। होम तथा कलन का रहस्य भी इसी प्रकार अपरिचित रह गया है।" In this context due stress may be laid on the fact that the concepts of Krama, Pādukā, Bhāsā and Kalana exclusively belong to the Krama system.

While writing a dissertation on the Stotras of Abhinavagupta for his M.A. examination the author was particularly attracted by the Kramastotra of Abhinava. This marks the first point of his interest in the system. The paucity of material for the study of the Stotra and the difficulty in interpreting the same inspired the author to undertake a comprehensive study of the same for his doctoral dissertation. The interest and fear both grew with each passing day when the author was able to grasp the enormity of the task taken up by him. Now this study is submitted for what it is worth to the discerning judgment of the reader.

XX XX XX

The Krama system has a triple significance. First, it is a tantric system. Second, it is a monistic Śaiva system. Third, it marks the emergence of the Śākta tendency in the Śaiva philosophy. It has, therefore, developed into a synthetic and complex whole in which the Śaiva philosophy, the Śākta esotericism and the Tantric synoptic view of life are interknitted together. It has been a difficult test for the author

to appreciate their specific implications and yet retain their synthesis. The Krama system is therefore not only a system of pure philosophy revelling in epistemic and ontological issues but also an esoteric discipline of spirituality constituting an important ingredient of wider tantric culture. The reader is earnestly urged to bear this aspect in mind while going through the pages of this thesis.

XX XX XX

The complex character of the Krama system has considerably influenced and defined the basic plan of this work. It has been divided into two parts, the first giving out a general and historical survey and the second the analytical exposition of the Krama philosophy. The second part does not deal with the ontology, epistemology, mysticism and esotericism of the Krama system under separate sections, because such a watertight division was neither possible nor worth-while in the very nature of the Krama system. The chapters, therefore, follow the traditional scheme of the Nine Prameyas and Cakras (forms of cyclic consciousness). Because by adopting this method alone justice could be done to the complex character of the Krama system. Special care has been taken to highlight the real philosophical and epistemic nature of apparently esoteric issues in the relevant contexts.

XX XX XX

The capacity of the author is severely limited. First of all, the lack of tradition is to be extremely regretted because the precise tantric spirit has lain under the cloud of mystic jargon. Second, the system has failed to catch the notice of the modern student of Kashmir Śaivism and tantricism. Third, all the printed texts are either incomplete or require critical editing. Fourth, the bulk of the extant Krama literature is still in manuscript form. Most of it is inaccessible today. Luckily, despite great hardships, the author could lay his hand on certain unnoticed manuscripts, but for which many aspects of the system would have remained a question mark. And even these manuscripts are mostly in Śāradā characters. Of the lost texts, the loss of the Krama-keli of Abhinavagupta is a very serious loss to the system.

In the above circumstances and in the absence of any previous groundwork as well as for the reasons of space, it was not possible for the author to take up a thoroughly critical study of the Krama system. The author has confined himself to making an analytical investigation into and exposition of the system. He has adopted a critico-comparative method, wherever it was feasible, in the specific frame-work of the tantric discipline. This thesis is intended basically to serve as a groundwork for the future studies of the Krama system.

In works of such a type as this it is practically impossible to do away with obscurity of expression, more so on account of the occult language and esoteric phraseology in which

the system is couched, apart from the author's own limitations. The indulgence of the reader is craved for any inconvenience he is put to in this behalf.

XX XX XX

It will be, now, in the fitness of things to indicate in brief the original contributions the author humbly claims to his credit.

In the first place, the author has ventured to touch an almost neglected area of Kashmir Śaivism in general and tantricism in particular. In the second place, the author has utilized the opportunity to go through all published texts on the Kashmir Śaivism as well as the Krama system. He has also tried to utilise a large number of important manuscripts on the system which would be testified to by the bibliography appended to this thesis as well as the profuse excerpts from MSS given throughout the work. The author has also sought to lay his hands upon all relevant historical as well as literary texts. Moreover, the author has also taken due cognizance of relevant literature in original, belonging to other tantric cults, specially Tripurā, having anything in common with the Kashmir Śaivism and the Krama system. It may, however, also be pointed out that the author has done his best to go through all the available secondary literature, whether published or unpublished, known and accessible to him on the Kashmir Śaivism and other cognate tantric schools.

In the third place, the author has essayed the task of reconstructing the history of the Krama system - not considering the chronology of the authors or works only, but tracing out the historical and logical growth of the Krama notions as well - in the larger context of the history of the Kashmir Śaivism. Besides, virtually discovering quite a few of Krama authors such as Gandhamādana, Siddhanātha, Cakrapāṇi, Devabhaṭṭa, Ramyadeva, Loṣṭhadeva, Śrīvatsa, Somaputra, Ananta Śaktipāda and Bhaṭṭāraka, the Krama associations of the known Spanda and Trika authors have also been brought out. These include the famous Vasugupta, Kallaṭa, Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, Kṣemarāja, Varadarāja, Jayaratha, Śivopādhyāya and a host of others. Some already established dates and geneological relationships have been re-examined in the light of fresh material and additional collateral evidence. In this connection the dates of Śivānanda, the first preceptor, Varadarāja, Hṛsvanātha, Bhojarāja, Cakrabhānu, Maheśvarānanda deserve particular mention. Similarly on the basis of a new interpretation of the terms Ātmaja and Santati parental ties between Somānanda and Utpala and between Utpala and Lakṣmaṇagupta have been rejected and preceptorial relationship re-affirmed in stead. These modifications will go a longway in determining the final course of the history of Kashmir Śaivism yet to be reconstructed fully by future scholars.

In the fourth place the author has tried to reconstruct the precise Krama metaphysics, its answer to various philosophical

problems and the basic values that have permeated the length and width of its spiritual approach. The author has also attempted to determine the place of Krama in the compact whole of Kashmir Śaivism and evaluate its positive contribution. It has also been pointed out how the Krama developed along two basically different lines under the impact of northern and southern schools, if such a loose expression be permitted to be used, and how these have conditioned the entire growth of the Krama philosophy.

In the fifth place the thesis refers to many a texts including manuscripts for the first time and makes extensive use of a number of them. The two Mahānaya Prakāśas, one of unknown authorship (attributed to Śivānanda by us) and the other of Śitikaṇṭha, the Bhāvopahāra of Cakrapāṇi and its gloss by Ramyadeva, and the Krama-stotra of Abhinava are among the printed texts that have been studied for the first time. In addition to numerous manuscripts, the MSS of the Chummāsampradāya, Kaula-sūtra, Jñāna-kriyā-dvaya-śataka, Śaivāṣṭakośa have been thoroughly studied and frequently drawn upon for exposition of various Krama theses.

In the ~~fifth~~ sixth and final place, an examination of the other systems of Indian thought particularly those of Buddhism and Bhartṛhari has been brought to bear upon the logical development of the important Krama concepts of the Absolute (as Kālī), the Supreme Absolutic function (Anākhyā), the progressive

character of spiritual approach (as Vikalpa-saṁskāra), the nature of mundane existence (Vikalpa), and sixfold Yogic discipline are shown to have been highly indebted to the corresponding notions of Kālaśakti, Śūnya, Śabdapūrvayoga, Apohana and Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga respectively.

XX XX XX

Since Sanskrit-typing in the Devanagari characters is a difficult affair, for no typewriter is equal to the task, the following liberties have been taken in order to minimize incidence of mistakes :-

(i) All nasals (ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m) in a conjunct are replaced by Anusvāra.

(ii) The Sandhi has been analysed or dissolved, wherever it was not possible to type it as it should be, for example, "श्रीमाञ्छम्भु " has been typed as "श्रीमान् शम्भु ".

XX XX XX

The author must acknowledge his heartfelt thanks to the University Grants Commission for awarding him a Junior Research Fellowship for carrying out the present project. The author is equally indebted to the authorities of B.O.R.I.,Poona and Akhila Bhartiya Sanskrit Parishad who allowed him to make copious use of the MSS in their possession. He is duly grateful to Pt.Dinanatha Yakṣa of the Sanskrit Section, Research Department,

Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar not only for allowing the author to study manuscripts at the Research Department but also for lending him a few precious manuscripts from his personal liberary. The specific references will be found at proper places in the thesis. He is immensely thankful to Sri B.V.Dvivedi of the Tantra Department, Sanskrit University, Varanasi for enabling him to have a peep into the contents of his press-copy of the Ṛjuvimarśinī, which he is engaged in editing. Messrs Bhavasar of B.O.R.I. and Juyal of the Sanskrit Parishad deserve special thanks for helping the author go through the texts in the original Śāradā characters. Mr. Ram Lal has earned the personal gratitude of the author for typing out the thesis so nicely and in such a short period.

The author is not in a position to express his profound sense of gratitude to his supervisor and teacher, Dr.Satyavrat Singh, Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages and Dean, Faculty of Arts, Lucknow University who has not only supervised the work of the author but continued to maintain a sustained interest in the progress of the thesis. He is also deeply thankful to his teacher Dr. Kanti Chandra Pandey who has helped him by permitting use, by the author, of the MSS in his possession. The author is highly indebted to Prof. K.A.S. Iyer for sparing his valued time discussing Bhartṛhari with him and presenting to him off-prints of some of his valuable papers duly mentioned in the thesis at their appropriate places. He cannot possibly thank M.M.Dr.Gopinath

Kaviraj, the doyen of modern scholars in Indian philosophy, who proved to be a constant source of inspiration to the author.

In the end, the author wants to convey heartfelt thanks to Dr. J.P. Sinha in whom the author found not only his teacher but his benefactor too. Mr. Asoka Kumar Kalia, a close friend of the author, deserves special mention for his assistance in tracing out various references. The author would record his deep appreciation of his esteemed friend Dr.Harsh Narain for his valued assistance in many forms. The author's gratitude to him is a matter of feeling and not of expression.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abhi.	Abhinavagupta: An Historical and Philosophical Study.
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AIOC	All India Oriental Conference.
A.L.	Ānanda-laharī.
A.S.V.	Alaṁkāra-sarvasva-vimarśinī.
B.A.L.	Bulletin of the Adyar Library.
Bhas.	Bhāskarī.
Bhas.(V).	Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī.
Bh.G.S.	Bhagvad-gītārtha-saṁgraha.
B.S.	Brahma-sūtra.
B.S.S.	Bhārtiya Saṁskrti Aura Sādhanā.
B.U.	Bhāvopahāra.
B.U.V.	Bhāvopahāra-vivaraṇa.
C.A.	Comparative Asthetics.
Cat.Cat.	Catalogues Catalogorum.
Chap.	Chapter.
C.G.C.	Cid-gagana-candrikā.
C.G.C.(Comm).	Cid-gagana-candrikā with the commentary called Divyacakorikā.
Ch.U.	Chāndogya Upniṣad.
C.O.L.	Curator's Office Library, Trivendrum.
Contribution.	Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature.

C.S. (MS)	Chummā-sampradāya (Manuscript).
DCSMCOL	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Curator's Office Library, Trivendrum.
Dh.L.	Dhvanyāloka-locana.
D.S.	Darshnik Traimasik.
Fn(s).	Footnote(s).
G.K.	Gauḍapāda-kārikā.
G.L.	Garland of Letters.
G.N.P.	Guru-nātha-parāmarśa.
G.O.S.	Gaekwad Oriental Series.
H.V.	Haravijaya-Mahākāvya.
I.P.K.	Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā.
I.P.V.V.	Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vivṛti-vimarśinī.
JORI	Journal of the Oriental Research Institute, Madras.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
K.K.V.	Kāma-kalā-vilāsa.
K.M.	Kāvya-mālā.
K.N.P.	Krama-naya-pradīpikā.
K.S.	Krama-stotra (by Siddhanātha).
K.S.(A).	Krama-stotra (by Abhinava).
K.S.S.	Kashmir Sanskrit Series of Texts and Studies.
M.	Maheśvarānanda.
M.M.	Mahārtha-mañjarī.
M.M.P.	Mahārtha-mañjarī-parimala.

M.P.(S).	Mahānaya-prakāśa (by Śitikaṇṭha).
M.P.(T).	Mahānaya-prakāśa (TSS, attributed to Śivānanda).
MS(s).	Manuscript(s).
M.V.T.	Mālinī-vijayottara-tantra.
M.V.V.	Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika.
N.S.	Nirnaya Sagar Press.
N.T.	Netra-tantra.
N.T.V.	Netra-tantra-vivṛti (Uddyota).
P.Hr.	Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya.
P.K.S.	Paraśurāma-kalpa-sūtra.
P.L.L.	Philosophy, Logic and Language.
P.P.	Paryanta-pañcāśikā.
P.S.	Paramārtha-sāra.
P.S.S.V. (MS)	Paramārtha-sāra-saṁgraha (Manuscript)
P.S.V.	Paramārtha-sāra-vivaraṇa.
P.T.L.V.(MS)	Parā-triśikā-laghu-vivṛti (lāsakī-vivaraṇa-Manuscript).
P.T.V.	Parā-triṁśikā-vivaraṇa.
R.T.(Raj.T.)	Rāja-taraṅgiṇī.
S.Dr.	Śiva-dṛṣṭi.
S.E.	Saptarṣi Era.
S.K.(MS)	Śaivāṣṭaka-kośa (Manuscript).
S.L.	Saundarya-laharī.
S.K.C.	Śrīkaṇṭha-carita.
S.S.	Śiva-sūtra.
S.Su.	Sārasvatī-suṣamā.

S.S.V.	Śiva-sūtra-vārtika (by Bhāskara).
S.S.V.(V).	Śiva-sūtra-vārtika (by Varadarāja).
S.S.Vi.	Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī.
S.T.(T).	Śāradā-tilaka (-tantra).
S.T.V.	Śāradā-tilaka-vivṛti (Padārthādarśa).
S.V.	Saubhāgya-vardhinī.
S.St.	Śiva-stotrāvalī.
S.St.V.	Śiva-stotrāvalī-vṛtti.
Sv.T. — Sv.T.U.	Svacchanda Tantra — Svacchanda Tantrodyota
Sec(s).	Section(s).
Short Review.	A short review of the Research Publications (Kashmir State).
Sp.K.	Spanda-kārikā.
Sp.K.V.	Spanda-kārikā-vṛtti.
Sp.N.	Spanda-nirṇaya .
Sp.P.	Spanda-pradīpikā.
Sp.S.	Spanda-sandoha.
St.C.	Stava-cintāmaṇi.
St.C.V.	Stava-cintāmaṇi-vivṛti.
Sv.T.	Svacchanda-tantra.
Sv.T.V.	Svacchanda-tantra-vivṛti (Uddyota).
T.A.	Tantrāloka.
T.A.V.	Tantrāloka-viveka.
T.R.(J.Kh.)	Tripurā-rahasya (Jñāna-khaṇḍa).
T.S.	Tantra-sāra.
T.S.S.	Trivendrum Sanskrit Series.
T.V.D.	Tantra-vaṭa-dhānikā.

V.	Verse No..
Vāk.	Vākpadīya.
V.Bh.	Vijñāna-bhairava.
V.Bh.V.	Vijñāna-bhairava-vivṛti (Uddyota).
V.M.	Vāmakeśvarīmata.
V.M.V.	Vāmakeśvarīmata-vivaraṇa.
V.S.	Vātūla-nātha-sūtra.
V.S.V.(V.N.S.V.)	Vātūla-nātha-sūtra-vṛtti.
Y.H.	Yoginīhṛdaya.
Y.H.D.	Yoginī-hṛdaya-dīpikā.
Y.S.	Yoga-sūtra.
Y.S.B.	Yoga-sūtra-(Vyāsa)-bhāṣya.

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PART ONE

HISTORICAL SURVEY

CHAPTER ONE

KRAMA AS A DISTINCT SYSTEM

(A brief analysis of the features that lend an independent status to Krama as a system of thought.)

(1 - 11)

[Krama: A system of Śaiva Philosophy in its own right (1)- Traditional recognition of its independence (2) - External evidence establishing its individuality (3) - Main features (4) - Krama as a Śakti-oriented and Tantric system (4) - Leaning towards monistic-dualistic character of Reality: Its implications and consequences (6) - Spiritual progression, and Mokṣa as synthesis of Bhoga and Mokṣa: Key features (7) - Absolutic functionalism : A significant aspect (9) - Positive emphasis on the epistemic side of our experience (9) - Preference for Prākṛta and certain minor features (10.]

1. KRAMA: A SYSTEM OF ŚAIVA PHILOSOPHY IN ITS OWN RIGHT

While sharing much in common with the Pratyabhijñā and Kula systems of Kashmir Śaiva monism, the Krama system has much of its own to justify its recognition as an independent system of philosophy. The phrase Kashmir Śaivism generally stands for the Pratyabhijñā system, whereas in fact it has a more wider application comprising as it does all the monistic trends of Śaivite speculation having their home in Kashmir. Inspite of the fact that all these systems have common fundamental data since they spring from the same source of Śaiva philosophy, they retain their intrinsic individual genius and appeal. In consequence, when a system is presented in its own merit, the idea is not to decry its integral character under a wider perspective, but to emphasize and analyse its real worth and significance. It is in this sense that the Krama system, despite its close affinities with the sister trends of thought, claims recognition as a system of philosophy.

2. TRADITIONAL RECOGNITION OF ITS INDEPENDENCE

Historically as well, Krama has been regarded as an independent system. Maṅkha in his Śrīkaṇṭhacarita mentions Mahānaya, another name of Krama, as a distinct philosophical school where the act of creation follows that of withdrawal,[1]

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1. प्राङ्निग्रहं विरचयन्वपुषः स्वरूपं पश्चादनुग्रहदशा च दिशन्नशेषाम् ।
यः सर्गसंहृतिविपंचनमक्रमेण चक्रे महानयविदां प्रथमः स्मरस्य ।। S.K.C.5.40.
Jonarāja observes. -
यतो महानयविदां दर्शनज्ञामाद्यः।तस्मिन्दर्शने हि संहारानन्तरं सृष्टिः।
p.69.

implying that the Krama system ardently adheres to the cyclic notion of Reality. This allusion to Krama in a literary work of the 11th century is a sufficient proof of the popularity of the Krama school, even beyond the philosophical circles, in Kashmir. Abhinavagupta recalls the same fact in unmistakable terms in the Mālinīvijaya-vārtika.[1] In the Tantrāloka also this very fact has been reiterated[2]. In his Viveka on the Tantrāloka Jayaratha talks of the Krama system to be an independent one.[3] The treatment of the Krama system in the fourth Āhnika has been prefaced by him with a similar remark.[4] It is significant to note that in the last autobiographical verse, marking the conclusion of his Viveka, he declares 'Trika' and 'Krama' as two different systems.[5] Śivānanda, the author of the

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1. अतिमार्गक्रमकुलत्रिकस्रोतोऽन्तरादिषु । M.V.V. 1.192.
2. अथ यथोचितमन्त्रकदम्बकं त्रिककुलक्रमयोगि निरूप्यते । T.A.30.1.Also see,
   मया स्वसंवित्सत्तर्कपतिशास्त्रत्रिकक्रमात् । T.A.1.106.
   Jayaratha remarks - क्रमः चतुष्टयार्थं । समाहारेऽयं द्वन्द्वः ।
   T.A.V.,I,p.150.
3. एता एव द्वादशापि संविदः ... क्रमदर्शनादौ अन्वर्थेनापि अभिधानेन दर्शिताः ।
   Ibis,II,p.235.;
   also cf. तदत्र क्रमनयसमानकक्ष्यत्वविवक्षायाम् ... Ibid,III,p.189.;
   इह क्रमदर्शने .... Ibid,p.190; न केवलमेताः क्रमदर्शनादेवोक्ता
   यावदस्मन्नयसहोदरेष्, शास्त्रेष्वपि । Ibid.
4. तदेव चेदानीं विभज्य दर्शयन् क्रमनयादेरतामस्य दर्शनस्य आवेदयति ।
   Ibid,III,p.157.
5. ... त्रिकदृशि क्रमार्थे ... Verse 47,T.A.V.,XII,p.435.

Mahānaya-Prakāśa, clearly stresses its individuality[1] and independent status among the varied schools of philosophy.[2] Maheśvarānanda too, does not forget to record his appreciation of the Pratyabhijñā and the Krama as two separate systems[3] even when he means to pin-point their common characters.[4]

2-A. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE ESTABLISHING ITS INDIVIDUALITY

Apart from the unanimous verdict of the Krama authors, there is external evidence also which establishes its independent status. It differs from other systems in point of its origin, its history, and its literature. Just as the Pratyabhijñā has its first preceptor in Somānanda, the Trika in Vasugupta, and the Kula in Macchanda, the Krama has the same in Śivānanda. The Krama system is further distinguished by the place of its origin. Its very conception took place in Kashmir, while all others, somehow or other, were imported into Kashmir by their preceptors or descendents and followers thereof.

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1. क्रमे सर्वज्ञपर्यन्तं प्रत्यक्षा कापि या स्थिता । M.P.(T).7.130.
2. कुलकौलादिकाम्नायशाक्तत्रिकमतादिषु.. व्यापको हि महानयः । Ibid, 1.30-31.
   महानयमहायानवेदान्ताद्वयवादिनः । Ibid, 7.26.
3. अवगतशिवदृष्टिप्रत्यभिज्ञार्थतत्त्वक्रमसरणिरहस्योल्लाससर्वस्ववेदी ।
   Verse No. 10, M.M.P., p.2.
4. अनेन श्री महार्थत्रिकदर्शनयोरन्योन्यं नात्यन्तं भेदप्रथेति व्याख्यातम् ।
   M.M.P., p.96.

3. MAIN FEATURES

We, however, have to distinguish between what others say of it and what the system says of itself. A brief account and comparative analysis of its salient features is attempted here to substantiate its unique character.

3-A. KRAMA AS A ŚAKTI-ORIENTED AND TANTRIC SYSTEM

The Krama system at the outset appears to reflect a systematic emergence of the Śākta tendencies in the monistic Śaivism of Kashmir.[1] As such it gives rise to many interesting developments and leads to many adjustments in the history of the Krama thought. The most important of such developments is the split of the system into two schools, one having its accent on the supremacy of the Śiva aspect and the other on the Śakti aspect of the Supreme Consciousness.[2] Thus, while all other systems including the Kula, Pratyabhijñā and Trika of Kashmir Śaivism are Śiva-oriented, the Krama is Śakti-oriented. The Spanda system is an exception in the sense that it marks the transition between the two ideologies. But, at the same time, it has a natural leaning towards Śakti,

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1. Śitikaṇṭha adds a similar remark - इत्थं सर्वत्र कुलदर्शनेषु शाक्तो योऽन्तःक्रमेण उदयः स्थितः स स्व तत्तद्भूमिकानुभवविशेषैः चक्रचरीरूपमास्थितैः संस्थानविशेषेण पूजितैः स्वरूपप्रथोन्मीलनाय चर्याक्रमेणापि क्रमार्थं उपासितव्यः । M.P.(S)p.III.
2. Likewise, the Kula and Tripurā too are known to be different systems, but in fact they complement each other with the difference that while the Tripurā lays stress on Śakti, the Feminine aspect, the Kula on Śiva, the Masculine.

the dynamic aspect of Reality. The important distinction between the Spanda and the Krama lies in the fact that while the latter is a Tantric system, the former is not. It is perhaps the reason why Abhinavagupta, in his Tantrāloka, deals with the Krama system under the Śāktopāya as a distinct system of thought and does not accord a separate treatment to the Spand school, though it (the Tantrāloka) is full of references to and extracts from the Spanda authors and works.[1] The fact that the Pratyabhijñā has secured a separate treatment under the Anupāya in the Tantrāloka unlike the Spanda, the latter approximates to the former in respect of metaphysics rather than mysticism and esotericism[2]. On the contrary, the Kula and the Krama, both being Tantric in origin and form, are more mystic than metaphysical. Yet, with all their differences they constitute together what is precisely meant by monistic Śaivism of Kashmir.

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1. It is important to note, howsoever strange it may appear, that Abhinavagupta who wrote so profusely and copiously on almost all the matters relating to Kashmir Śaivism did not write a single independent work bearing on the Spanda branch. This fact has been noticed by Kṣemarāja. Vide,

   अन्तापरटीकाद्यन्मध्ये स्थितिमपुष्यता ।

   विवृतं स्पन्दशास्त्रं नो गुरुणा नो, मयास्य तु ।

   Sp.N., p.77 (concluding verse no.2).

2. In incorporating the Pratyabhijñā as an inalienable part of the basic plan of the Tantrāloka Abhinava was possibly motivated by its enormous metaphysical value. Because it is the notion of Pratyabhijñāna (recognition) that is the most significant single constituent of all the monistic Śaiva systems of Kashmir.

3-B. LEANING TOWARDS MONISTIC-DUALISTIC CHARACTER OF REALITY: ITS IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES

Another aspect which distinguishes the Krama system from other associate schools is its proneness toward the monistic-dualistic character of Reality at the pre-realization stage. As a spiritual discipline it has been specially designated as Bhedābhedopāya in order to bring out the importance it attaches to the idea of dualism or diversity within the general framework of monism or unity. The Krama system in the above role does not seek to confuse or mix up the two polarities,(duality-cum-unity), but, instead, unearths unity in the phenomenal duality as its intrinsic character (unity in duality- Bheda abhedaḥ).[1] In other words the Krama is more closely connected with the immanent reality and interprets immanence as an essential expression of transcendence. Against this the Pratyabhijñā and Kula systems are immediately concerned with reality as unity (abheda) or the transcendental aspect of Reality. Whenever there appears a difference in the systems it is only the difference of approach or the whole outlook. Even when the Bhedābhedavādin (in practice) is a real monist (in theory), he justifies the individuality of his approach by his utmost tolerance towards the other cognate systems.[2] It eschews its dogmatism

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1. Cf. Pt.II, Chap.1, Secs 9 and 12.

2. Cf. Ibid, Sec. 11-F(I).

in this respect. In fact, the Krama system regards both duality and non-duality as irrelevant, since such a concept of Reality cannot be anything but relative. As a consequence, the system is very very critical of the concepts of Bandha (fetters) versus Mokṣa (freedom).[1] Thus the Kula system prohibits the rituals and the Siddhanta Śaivism advocates them. But the Krama and the Trika system look upon the concepts of prohibition and injunction or negation and predication as external to the nature of Reality.[2]

3-C. SPIRITUAL PROGRESSION, AND MOKṢA AS SYNTHESIS OF BHOGA AND MOKṢA: KEY FEATURES

Moreover the definition of the Kula and Krama systems in terms of Śāmbhavopāya and Śaktopāya is enough to focus their mutual points of difference and agreement. This point will be discussed on the occasion of the study of the Krama system as Śāktopāya.[3] It is however necessary to remember that the Pratyabhijñā and the Kula do not subscribe to the

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1. Cf. Pt. II, Chap. I, Sec. 5.
2. इह पुनः परमाद्वयरूपे त्रिकदर्शने तद्विधिना तन्निषेधेन वा न किंचित् प्रयोजनम् । T.A.V., III, p.286.

   Cp. निषेधविधितुल्यत्वं शाक्तोपायेऽत्र चच्यते ।

   T.A. 1.290. See for details, Pt. II, Chap. I, Sec. 11-F.

3. Cf. Pt. II, Chap. I, Sec. 9.

idea of spiritual progression. But, the concept of spiritual progression is the very life-blood of the Krama system and its theory of the purification of the thought constructs (Vikalpa-saṁskāra). The very term Krama denotes what is called spiritual progression. Similarly the term Kula (i.e., an organic whole) justifies its nomenclature by its non-adherence to the theory of Vikalpa and succession in self-realisation. Thus the tantric ideal of self-realization as synthesis of Bhoga and Mokṣa better termed as Bhoga-mokṣa-sāmarasya, is realizable in the Krama system alone.[1] It is solely the Krama system, which by virtue of its theory of progressive refinement of Vikalpas lays equal emphasis on each and every step of self-realization as an embodiment of spirituality. The Kula and Pratyabhijñā are not opposed or averse to such an ideal, but they do not have proper scope for it, since they adhere to the concept of instantaneous and immediate self-revelation. The image of the Krama system becomes clear only when we see through its concept of the Sāmarasya of Dhāma-Varṇa (Name and Form) and Cit (consciousness).[2]

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1. एतदेव ह्यस्य दर्शनान्तरेभ्यो वैशिष्ट्यं यद् भोगमोक्षाद्वितयानुभूतिसामरस्यं नाम । M.M.P., p.137; also see p.172. Cp.
यत्परिज्ञानवशतो भवो भवति मुक्तिभूः । M.P.(T).7.125.
2. मुद्रामन्त्रनिरीहाणां धामवर्णचिदात्मनाम् ।
अन्योन्याव्यभिचारेण सामरस्यादभिन्नता ॥
महार्थकथनं यस्या विना यादृशतादृशम् ।
यां विनापि नयस्यास्य वैलक्षण्यं न जायते ॥ M.P.(T).7.129 &135.

3-D. ABSOLUTIC FUNCTIONALISM: A SIGNIFICANT ASPECT

In this context a minor but significant point, though not entirely relevant, may also be adverted to. The functionalistic doctrine of the Trika, i.e., five functions of the Absolute, has been adjusted suitably to the requirements of the Krama system. Thus the last two of the five Absolutic acts namely, Tirodhāna and Anugraha have been replaced by Anākhyā and Bhāsā.[1]

3.E. POSITIVE EMPHASIS ON THE EPISTEMIC SIDE OF OUR EXPERIENCE

Krama is a system with a positive epistemic bias. The epistemic undertones of the system form its special character and contrast it from the other systems.[2] It has just been noted that the Pratyabhijñā and Spanda schools are more metaphysical in intent. And though the Kula and the Krama, in common, have esoteric and mystical appearance, it is the Krama that lays more positive emphasis on the cognitive and the epistemic aspects. This is perhaps the basic philosophical value of the Krama as a system of philosophy.

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1. Cf. Pt.II, Chap.I, sec.12-A; Chap.3, Sec.2.
2. Cf. Pt.II, Chap.I, secs.9 and 10; Chap.3, Sec.6-B(I).

3-F. PREFERENCE FOR PRĀKṚTA AND CERTAIN MINOR FEATURES

A reference to another unique Krama phenomenon would not be out of place here. It is really a characteristic feature of the Krama school that it favours Prākṛta[1] in place of Saṁskṛta for the presentation of its tenets. There is positive evidence to show that works like the Krama-sūtra, both of the Mahānaya-Prakāśas, Mahārtha-mañjarī Chummā-saṁpradāya, Prākṛta-triṁśikāvivaraṇa and works of a few other authors were written in some form of the Prākṛta or local vernaculars. Maheśvarānanda is the first extant authority who takes note of it. There is only one other Tantric system which also evinces a preference for the use of Prākṛta. But that is a Śākta system, not Śaiva, famed as Tripurā.[2] It, however, does not follow from the thesis that the use of Saṁskṛta was rare and unusual. On the contrary, the bulk of the literature, presently available, is in the Saṁskṛta. Likewise, a sweeping conclusion that the Krama had more popular appeal than other systems will probably be somewhat remote from truth. What is the possible

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1. किंच, अस्मदुपास्यविधानुसंधाने प्राय: प्राकृतस्यैवौचित्यमुज्जृम्भते। M.M.P., p.193.
2. यदुक्तमस्मत्परमगुरुभि: श्रीऋजुविमर्शिन्याम् .... प्राकृतभाषाविशेषत्वाच्च यथासंप्रदायं व्यवहार इत्युपदेश: । Ibid.

But this has again to be noted that no work on the Tripurā, which is in Prakṛta, has come to our notice, whereas at least three of the above Krama works, e.g., M.P.(S), C.S. (MS) and M.M. have come down to us.

source of such a phenomenon is a question that is proposed to be taken up in our study of the historical forces that gave the Krama a shape and a figure. Similarly the division of entire monistic Śaiva thought into two classes, namely, Traiyambaka and Ardha-Traiyambaka will also be considered under our study of Krama's tantric character. In this connection it may be noted that while Kula is considered to be the Ardha-traiyambaka, the Krama, Kula and Pratyabhijñā belong to the Traiymabaka category. The only justification for alluding to it here lies in the nature of the present enquiry which particularly aims at bringing out the individual character of the Krama system.

It should now be clear that internal as well as historical evidence is weighty enough to substantiate that the Krama is a system of philosophy which merits a sincere consideration in its own right.

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CHAPTER TWO

ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE SYSTEM

(A study into the philosophical basis of the various names of the system and their significance.)

(12-40)

[Krama Naya (12) - (Anuttara-krama (21) - Anupāya-krama (21) - Devatā-krama (21) - Mahākrama (22) - Mahārtha-krama (22) - Auttara-krama (23) - Mahārtha or Mahārtha-naya (27) - Mahānaya (33) - Mahāsara (34)- Atinaya (34) - Devatānaya or Devīnaya (27) - Kālīnaya (39) - Conclusion (39).]

The Krama system is variously styled as Krama -naya, Mahārtha-naya etc., etc.. Let us take each seriatim.

1. <u>KRAMA-NAYA</u>

The first ever definite reference to the Krama as a system of philosophy, as we have already seen,[1] is found in Abhinava. But it is rather amuzing that he did not try to define the word symbolizing a particular system. It is Jayaratha who identifies it with the theory that confides in the fourfold functionalism of the Absolute.[2] This interpretation is not Jayarath's own, but the traditional one. For even before Abhinava, Utpala, popularly called Utpala Vaiṣṇava and a contemporary of his teachers, interpreted the term in traditional phraseology of Kramacatuṣka (fourfold Krama).[3] This is borne out by a statement of Kṣemarāja who takes the word Krama to stand for the succession of the cyclic consciousness of emanation (Sṛṣṭi), sustenance (Sthiti) and withdrawal (Saṁhṛti).[4] While explaining the words "Krama Mudrā" and "Mudrā-krama" in the

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1. Cf.Pt.I,Chap.1, sec.2.

2. क्रम: चतुष्टयार्थ: । T.A.V.,I,p.150.

3. एष एव अतिरहस्यक्रमार्थविदाम् उद्योगावभासचर्वणाविलापनरूप: क्रमचतुष्को क्रमोऽत्रैव युक्त्यैवोक्त: । Sp.P.,p.48.

   Similarly Śivānanda, the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda, has nearly the same definition:
   सर्गावतारसंहारा: क्रमात्मानो व्यवस्थिता: ।
   अनाख्यमक्रममपि क्रमात्मैव तदाश्रयात् ॥
   M.P.(T).9.19.

4. अत्रायमर्थ: सृष्टिस्थितिसंहृतिसंविच्चक्रात्मकं क्रमम् ... । Pr.Hṛ.,p.92.

   Also cp. सृष्टिस्थितिलयानाख्याभासाशक्तिप्रसारणात् .....
   सन्धानमान्तरामायाम्नातक्रमविमर्शनम् ॥
   S.S.V.(V),1.40-41.

<u>Krama-Sūtras</u> he also defines the word Krama in the context of the system. According to him it is called Krama because it (i) causes emanation etc., to appear in succession(Krama) and (ii) itself constitutes the very nature of that (as well as ~~this~~ their) successive appearance.[1] Hence Krama is the system that deals with such a phenomenon exclusively, all other aspects remaining subordinate to it. Let us consider in brief its precise bearing on the problem. One of the most basic tenets of the entire monistic Śaiva thought of Kashmir is its theory of the five acts of the absolute, namely, Sṛṣṭi (emanation or emergence), Sthiti (sustenance), Saṁhāra (withdrawal or submergence), Tirodhāna (concealment), and Anugraha (dispensing grace). The functionalistic doctrine, in question, maintains that the Absolute is unceasingly busy in bringing about these five acts, be it phenomenal order of existence or the trans-phenomenal one. It is the unfoldment of his being. Therefore, those who always reflect upon this pentadic activity of the Godhead, knowing the universe as an unfoldment and expression of the essential nature of Awareness, never fail to attain perfection and realize their true self in this very life. Those, for whom the objective content of their experience does not partake of the godly

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1. क्रमः अपि सृष्ट्यादिक्रमाभासकत्वात् तत्क्रमाभासरूपत्वात् च
क्रम इत्यभिधीयते ।   Pr.Hṛ.p.94.

essence, continue to remain under the binding influence of ignorance.[1] The greatest advantage of this theory consists in its distinguishing the Kashmir Śaiva monism from the Vedāntic one.[2] Now the Krama is the system that specially builds on this theme.[3] So active has been its interest in the problem that the system saw the emergence of two divergent opinions with respect to the exact meaning of the word Krama. These theories later crystalized into what are known as Four-function (Catuṣṭayārtha) and Five-function (Pañcārtha) theories. We however refrain from entering into the controversy except making some necessary references since the same has been enlarged upon in the sequel.[4]

Saṁvit or Awareness-reality itself is succession or Krama. Whether it is a process of empirical cognition or that of reflective meditation or cosmic emanation, it is

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1. यथा च भगवान् शुद्धेतरजगत्स्फारणक्रमेण स्वरूपविकासरूपाणि सृष्ट्यादीनि करोति, तथा संकुचितचिच्छक्तितया संसारभूमिकायामपि पञ्चकृत्यानि विधत्ते । ..... अत एव ये सदा एतत् परिशीलयन्ति, ते स्वरूपविकासमयं विश्वं जानाना जीवन्मुक्ता इत्याम्नाताः ।

Pr.Hr.,pp.62-63.

2. इह ईश्वराद्वयदर्शनस्य ब्रह्मवादिभ्यः अयमेव विशेषः । Ibid,p.61.

3. Cf. Pt.II,Chap.I,Sec.11-G;Chap.III,sec.6-A.

4. Cf. Pt.II,Chap.3, sec.2-B.

Saḿvit that defines and undergoes the process of succession (Krama). This process of succession is also termed Mahākramā.[1] Owing to varying traditions the entire process might be said to entertain four[2] or five[3] phases. In the four-fold scheme the fifth function namely, Bhāsā, is excluded, while the fivefold scheme comprises all the acts. Whatever the case, these phases presuppose the cyclic notion of reality whose flow remains uninterrupted and uniform throughout. The genesis of numerical difference and successive phases lies in the intrinsic dynamism of the reality itself. The unitary flow appears to be divided due to the four acts that come in a succession. This divisive flow of the inherent dynamism itself constitutes the Krama or succession.[4] Sometimes the place of the godly function is annexed by the godly potencies

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1. ... विश्वमयी संविद् भासते । ... सा वक्ष्यमाणवत्मानुगुण्येन सर्वथा क्रमभाजनं भवति, स एव महाक्रम इति नयविद्भिर्गीयते ।

M.P.(S),p.39.
Also see p.41.

2. सृष्ट्यादिचतुष्टयमेव क्रमार्थत्वेन प्रतिज्ञायते । Ibid.p.42.
इह नये चतुष्टयार्थपरिभाषा प्रतिज्ञाता इति महाक्रमश्चतूरूप एव ।

Ibid,p.43. Also see M.M.P.,p.86., cp.pp.63,98.

3. इति क्रमार्थं एव पंचधा परिभाषितः । Ibid.
ततश्च षाद्सु पूज्यतया श्रीपंचार्थक्रमावमर्शः ।

Cp. Also M.M.P.,p.3. [illegible]

4. भेदैश्चतुर्भिरेकस्यां शक्तौ यत्क्रमणं क्रमात् ।
सृष्टिस्थितिलयानाख्यैः स क्रमः परिकीर्तितः । M.P.(S).p.45.

with little material effect on our stand.[1] The conception and structural niceties of the Saṁviccakra can only be explained with reference to this defintion of the Krama and its implications, too, regarding the cyclic idea of reality resulting from its dynamic character. Because the twelve Kālis are the epistemic-metaphysical-mystic transformation of the fourfold (or fivefold) functionalism with regard to the Object, Subject, and means of knowing or the first three acts,[2] in epistemic and cosmogonical settings respectively. This provides the proper context where the Krama system brings the real synthesis between the successive process of cosmic emergence and the trans-successive monistic principle - the primal orgin of the ensuing succession. Unity and continuity of the absolutic (and hence subjective) dynamism can be realized only when the seeming gaps between the discrete modes, viz., creation etc., of the absolutic manifestation are conserved and transformed into the real links that not only join but build the synthetic whole. This is done by tracing out the inner unity that pervades all these functional cycles. It is why the one, who has developed an intuitive insight into the essential

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1. एकस्य चित्प्रवाहस्य क्रमभेद: स्वगोचरे ।
   इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाभिर्य: क्रमार्थ: सोऽभिधीयते ॥ M.P.(S).p.45.

2. The first three acts, like Pañcārtha and Catuṣṭayārtha, may be designated as Tryartha (त्र्यर्थ). This is possibly suggested by the following extract:-
   खण्डितेतरसमस्तगर्भगौ यस्त्रिपंचविसरात्रयो क्रम: ।
   C.G.C.4.113.

character of the succession characterising the cyclic movement of the absolutic agency, earns a claim to emancipation during one's lifetime.[1]

The Krama has been further defined, under the spell of the Kashmir Śaivism in general, in terms of time (Kāla) and has been doubly designated as Kālakrama[2] as well as Kāla[3]. Kālakrama is a tautological expression because in its verbal analysis it is rendered as the succession called time (Kālākhyaḥ Kramaḥ) and not as succession of time (Kālasya Kramaḥ). The Krama as time is responsible for the manifestation of total objectivity and absence thereof.[4] It rather partakes of such a manifestation or non-manifestation as the case may be. In all fairness it must be admitted, that the present definition is not meant to explain the Krama's special status as a system of Śaiva monism.[5] The sole underlying idea is to expatiate upon and account for

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1. इत्थमेतत्क्रमपरामर्श एव स्वात्मविमर्शरूपो जीवन्मोक्षः ।

   M.M.P.,p.109. See for detailed discussion, Pt.II,Chap.I, Sec.5-A; Chap.3, Sec.8-A.

2. कालक्रमात्मा कथितः क्रमश्चान्योन्यवर्जनात् ।
   नैवं काचित् प्रतीतिः स्याद्द्विविधांशावभेदतः ॥ M.P.(T).9.28.

3. दर्शितक्रमविभागसंभ्रमं कालमद्यतनमत्तुमीहसे । C.G.C.1.22.

4. कालो भावानामवभासनानवभासात्मा क्रमः । M.M.P.,p.50.

5. We know of at least one tantric effort that tries to give an esoteric explanation. It, however, has no intrinsic worth, for the entire jargon transpires to (contd ....

the phenomenon of succession in our routine experiences ranging from the microcosmic level to the macrocosmic one, and also how the discrete units coming in a series flow from the non-dual supra-sequential source. Because it is the objective world that is characterised and determined by succession and not the Absolute. In the context of the absolute reality the word Kāla would not mean simple sequential time, but creative time, the potential for the emergent reality of emanation.[1] Hence the interpretation of the term Krama signifying temporal (as well as spatial) succession has received our attention in the context of Kālī, the supreme metaphysical, ontological and mystic principle.[2]

We now come to the third definition of the Krama offered by certain quarters of the system itself. Accordingly, the word Krama may be employed in two different ways, e.g., the relative as well as the absolute expression. As a relative expression it calls for its counter-entity (Pratiyogin) in Akrama (trans-sequential), and signifies a particular

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contd...) interpret it in terms of Kala-krama. cf.

ककारः क्रोधरूपस्तु मकारो मंगलोभवेत् ।
क्रोधेतु मंगलं कुर्यात् क्रमः कालक्रमो भवेत् ।।
गुर्वायत्तं क्रमज्ञानम्, आज्ञासिद्धिकरं परम् ।
क्रमज्ञानान्महादेवि त्रैलोक्यं कवलीकृतम् ।।
Quoted from the Krama-Siddhi, M.M.P., p.109.

1. अतश्चायं देवः... पौर्वापर्यादिविकल्पकल्पनामयेन क्रमेण नाक्रम्यते ।.... यतो वैश्वात्म्यविजृम्भासंरम्भोत्तरे भगवति ... कस्य कस्मात् पृथक्त्वं तद्धेतुकः क्रमश्च ।.... कालस्य तत्त्ववृत्त्या क्रमतयैव पर्यवसानात् । M.M.P., p.136.

कालः सूर्यादिसंचारस्तत्पुष्पादिजन्म वा ।
शीतोष्णे वाऽथ तल्लक्ष्यः क्रम एव सतत्त्वतः ।। I.P.K.21.2.

2. See. Pt.II, Chap.2, Secs.2, 3-B, 4, 4-A(II) and 4-A(III).

phenomenon of our experience. In the phenomenal realm when the different operations of our cognitive apparatus and psychoses are directed to the grasp of external multiplicity, the whole situation is reckoned as Krama. Likewise, when the phenomenal level is transcended by diverting the same mechanism towards the trans-phenomenal, non-dual, undifferentiated reality, everything is automatically realized in its essentially trans-sequential character. This phenomenon is designated as Akrama.[1] On the other hand, as an absolute expression the word Krama stands for the same 'Akrama' reality which remains always continuous, eternally potential, self-subsistent, immediate and indeterminate.[2] It is this reality that constitutes the supreme ideal of

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1. भिन्नप्रथात्मिका यावद्वृत्त्यो बहिरास्थिता: ।
विषयाहरणोन्मुख्यास्तावत्क्रम इति स्मृत: ॥
तदुत्तीर्णे परे यत्र चिदचिद्भेदवर्जिते ।
महाव्योम्न्यद्वयतया सर्वं भात्यक्रमस्तु स: ॥ C.S.(MS),p.12.

cp. पृथक्पृथक्स्वकार्यस्था यावत्तिष्ठन्ति देवता: ।
तावत्क्रमकृता संज्ञा विद्यते नान्यथा पुन: ॥
एकीभावतया सर्वमनाख्यायां यदा स्थितम् ।
अक्रमस्तु तदा ज्ञेय: प्रोत्तीर्ण: सर्वतो यत: ॥

Quoted from an Āgama, T.A.V., III, p.132.
Be it noted that the expression Devatāh stands for the Karaṇeśvarīs. It is peculiar Krama notion which visualizes the sense-organs, both external and internal (Karaṇas) as forms of the respective divinities that are famous as sense-divinities in the Krama parlance.

2. ईदृक्तत्त्वस्वरूपो यो भात्यक्रममहोदय: ।
स एव सर्वतोदिक्क: क्रम: कोऽपि निरन्तर: ॥
प्रागुक्तलक्षणेऽनन्ते शक्तिरूपे सदोदिते ।
सततं संस्थिते साक्षात्संकल्पकलनोज्झिते ॥

C.S.(MS),p.12.

the Krama doctrine and marks the terminus of the entire spiritual adventure advocated by the system.[1] In the Krama works yet another use of the word Krama is encountered as denoting some form or act of worship or ritual[2]. But such a contention is presently irrelevant and wide of the mark.

Thus the main accent of all those attempts that dwelt on the Krama as a specific system, appears to have been on the modus operandi of the principle of awareness (Cit-krama). By fully appreciating the course and process adopted for the manifestation and realization of self we are made to fathom the inner depths of consciousness, Reality per se. Thus the Krama, in simple language, may be identified with Cit-krama or Bhodha-krama.[3]

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1. सोऽयं पूराणाधिष्ठान: क्रम: क्रमविवर्जित: ।
महार्थस्य परा निष्ठा गलितस्वपरस्थिते: ।। M.P.(T).1.11.

2. यथा श्रीपश्चिमे -
पूजा होम: क्रमश्चर्या व्रतं शास्त्रनिषेवणम् ।
तपोध्यानं जप: शौचं तत्वहीनस्य निष्फलम् ।। Quoted, M.M.P., p.112.

3. यस्मादनुत्तरमहाह्रदमज्जनं मे सौभाग्यशाम्भवसुखानुभवश्च यस्मात् ।
तत्स्वात्मचित्क्रमविमर्शमयं गुरूणामोवल्लियुग्ममुदितोदितवीर्यमीडे ।।
M.M.P., p.1

cp. तस्मान्निश्चितमेव स्वस्य आत्मीयस्य शुद्धविद्यारूपत्वात् प्रकृष्टस्य परामर्शात्मन: बोधस्य क्रमोऽस्तीति शेष: । TA.V., III, p.108

1-A. ANUTTARA-KRAMA

Sometimes the word Krama is qualified by or prefixed with some other appellation or epithet in order to lay special emphasis on a particular aspect of the system without interfering with its actual signification. Thus, for instance, it has been described as Anuttara Krama (metempirical order) bringing into focus the transcendental character of the supreme experience as twin-accomplishment in which lay the two poles of objective enjoyment and subjective freedom in perfect harmony.[1]

1-B. ANUPĀYA-KRAMA

Exactly on similar lines the Krama has been designated as Anupāya Krama[2] marking the highest spiritual and yogic attainment. The Anupāya-krama precisely has the same meaning as one conveyed by the word Krama when employed in its absolute sense of ultimate ideal, as seen above.

1-C. DEVATĀ-KRAMA

Similarly it has been styled as Devatā-krama (order of the divinities) emphasizing that the inner

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1. श्रीमदनुत्तरक्रमप्रणयनप्रवीणस्य परमेश्वरस्य परमकारुण्यमात्रोपपादिते-
यमस्माकीना यामली सिद्धिः ।   M.M.P., p.172.

2. युक्तचर्यादिविद्योपवासनाद्योभवर्जितः ।
अनुपायक्रमः सोऽयं यस्य रूढ(स्य?:स)योगिराट् ।   M.P.(T).1.13.

significance of all the stages of cosmic emanation and spiritual advancement and, for that matter, of the Samviccakra lies in their divine character. Each step in the process, therefore, represents a divinity.[1]

1-D. MAHĀKRAMA

In the opening pages, Mahākrama as a synonym of Krama has been looked into.[2] This title has been probably coined in the wake of another name of the Krama system, i.e., Mahārtha, which is proposed to be discussed below and which literally means the great reality or the great meaning. This becomes quite clear when we find Maheśvarānanda presenting his famous work Mahārthamañjarī as the Mahākrama-mañjarī in the concluding verses of his commentary called Parimala.[3]

1-E. MAHĀRTHA-KRAMA

In spite of its renown as the Mahārtha exclusively, there is no dearth of the phrase, i.e., Mahārtha-krama.[4] In

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1. खण्डितेतरसमस्तगर्भगो यस्त्रिप्रपंचविसराश्रयो क्रमः ।
देवताक्रम उदेत्यनारतं तस्य हि त्वमसि देवजन्मभूः ॥ C.G.C. 4.113.

2. चतुष्टयार्थरूपो वा महाक्रमो महार्थो ज्ञेयः । M.P.(S), p.56.

3. ग्राह्येयमान्तरमहाक्रमतन्त्रगर्भादर्थैरुदन्वदुदरान्मणिमंजरीव ॥ M.M.P., p.201.
इति गुरुमुखाम्नायन्यायान्महाक्रममंजरी -
परिमलमिमं शिष्यप्रेम्णा बबन्ध महेश्वरः ॥ Ibid, p.202.

4. महार्थक्रमस्य सर्वातोऽतिशायी कोऽपि श्लाघ्योत्कर्षो ध्वन्यते। Ibid, p.179.
श्रीमन्महार्थक्रमप्रपंचः सर्वोऽपि वृन्दचक्रे विश्राम्यति । Ibid, p.194.
It says that the total play of succession or Krama as advocated by the system rests in Vṛnda-cakra. (contd....

such an expression both the constituents of the compound enjoy the same import. The phrase stands for the Krama pertaining to the great reality (i.e., as conceived by the Mahārtha system). This phrase and the like actually have become the typical idiom of the system.

1.F. AUTTARA-KRAMA

The same Krama which has been presented as the Anuttara-krama from the metaphysical point of view is designated as the Auttara Krama[1] from the point of view of its place of origin. The Krama system arose in and spread from Kashmir[2] which is in the north and has been described as the northern-seat (Uttara-Pīṭha) as well.[3] In a similar strain it has been described as Auttara Artha-tattva[4] (principle of ultimate reality pertaining to the north).

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contd....) By implication it also means that the entire eightfold order, namely, Saṁvitkrama, Dhāmakrama etc. form part of the Vṛnda-cakra.

1. आशंकौत्तरचर्चाभिरन्यैश्च गमके क्रमैः ।
प्रकाशयाद्भिर्विश्वस्य प्रतिष्ठामौत्तरं क्रमम् ।। M.M.P.,p.190.
सिद्धान्तानां यथान्येषां सारं स्यादौत्तरःक्रमः । Ibid.p.200.
आद्येयमौत्तरमहाक्रमतन्त्रगर्भाद् ... Ibid,p.201.
2. सम्प्रदायस्य काश्मीरोद्भूतत्वाद् ... M.M.P.,p.193.
3. उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशाद् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथाद्लब्धानुग्रहाभ्यः ।
T.A.V.,III,p.192.cp.M.P.(T).1.37.
4. अथास्मत्प्रसाधितमौत्तरमर्थतत्त्वमेवान्येषां व्यासादीनामपि महामुनीनामन्तरनुसन्धेया देवता ।
M.M.P.,p.183.

Since a reference has also been made to Śivānanda,[1] the earliest preceptor, whose name is associated with Kashmir, it appears a feasible reason to call the Krama system by the name of the Auttara Krama or the Auttara Tattva. Another factor, that might have contributed to such a nomenclature is Krama's inclusion under Uttarāmnāya. According to the traditional lore, Uttarāmnāya stands for the teachings proceeding from the northern mouth of Śiva, that is, the 'Vāmamārga' because the Northern face is to the left. According to Dr. Pandey[2] this interpretation agrees with the fact that the Krama enjoins the Dūtī-yāga[3] and the use of liquor, woman and meat as essentials[4] of worship which are necessary ingrediants of a Vāmamārga. It is, however, difficult to say that this is the precise suggestion of dubbing the Krama as practising the Vāma-mārga. Although in the later form of the Krama system, which is chiefly presented by Maheśvarānanda, such apparently immoral tendencies did crop up and earned a respectable place for themselves, yet

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1. M.M.P., p.197.
2. Cf. Abhinava., pp.280-81.
3. एवं पीठपरामर्शस्य प्राधान्यं प्रतिपादयितुं ह्यादौ दूतीयजनमारम्भणीय-
   तयोद्भाव्यते । M.M.P., p.87.
4. मदिरामद्यमांसादीन्येव द्रव्याण्यस्मदुपास्यानां देवतानां सपर्यासु
   परिवर्हतयाभ्यर्हितानीति । Ibid, p.182.

cp. ललनामधुमांसानि पूज्याग्राणि विशेषतः । M.P.(T).9.51.

the main stress laid by the Krama has always been on the spiritual side. Moreover the Krama is not called Uttarāmnāya, but the cream and essence of the Uttarāmnāya.[1] In fact, the entire monistic current of Kashmir Śaivism is identified with Uttarāmnāya[2], i.e., teachings that proceeded from the Northern mouth of Śiva. On the contrary, the Kashmir Śaiva āgamas are classified under the Dakṣiṇa group of the three categories of Śaiva tantras, namely, Vāma, Dakṣiṇa and Siddhānta.[3] Śitikaṇṭha sets at rest all doubts in this highest place of all the āmnāyas, and the Mahārtha, i.e., Krama, ranks supreme among the Uttarāmnāyas.[4] All these observations are, however, at their tentative stage, since it is difficult to close the chapter with a final judgment. The difficulty is aggravated by ~~xxremarkxxx~~ Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, who remarks in his commentary on the Sarada-tilaka[5], that the first half of the verse incorporates the Pratyabhijñā doctrine

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1. अर्थतत्त्वमुपादिददौत्तराम्नायसंविदाम् ॥ M.M.P., p.196.

2. औत्तराम्नायाद्यशेषशास्त्रार्थविबोधशालित्वात् । Ibid, p.6.

2. स इति.... तदौत्तराम्नायोद्घोषितत्वेन परामृश्यमान इति यावत् । Ibid; p.149.

3. See तन्त्रावतार:, N.R.Bhatta, S.S., 20, I, p.72.

4. तथा पर्यन्तवर्तिनामाम्नायानां य: पर उत्कृष्ट उत्तराम्नाय: ततोऽपि षाट्त्रिंशभेदभिन्नाद्य: पर्यन्त: प्रान्तवर्ती नवचक्रसंप्रदाय: सोऽयं महार्थ: ।
M.P.(S), p.15. Nava-cakras (nine cycles) here refer to cakras called Prakāśa, Mūrti, Anākhyā etc.

5. शिवात्मनोरभेदेन प्रतिपत्तिं परे विदु: ।
शिवशक्त्यात्मकं ज्ञानं जगुरागमवेदिन: ॥ S.T.25.2.

as propounded by the Śiva-Sūtra and Trika-bheda etc., whereas the second half represents the Uttarāmnāya view.[1] He quotes from a certain sourde to substantiate his contention but does not name the work. If one abides by the thesis of Rāghava-bhaṭṭa, he will have to admit that the Trika and the Uttarāmnāya are two different things and reject the previously held view that the Uttarāmnāya is another name for the monistic trend of the Śaivite Speculation of Kashmir. As a compromise formula it may be suggested that while distinguishing between the two (Pratyabhijñā and Uttarāmnāya) the commentator (as well as the author) wants to pinpoint their classical and āgamic nature respectively. But as the things are, the Uttarāmnāya view, in question, is nearer to the Krama than to the Pratyabhijñā. Still, as has been said, it is difficult to state anything categorically in such a confused state of affairs. Nevertheless, though we may not be certain about the exact significance of the term Uttarāmnāya, the appellation Auttara Krama, from its geographical perspective, does not pose a problem.

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1. शिवप्रोक्तसूत्रमतप्रवृत्तप्रत्यभिज्ञादिग्रन्थमतमाह शिवेति । प्रतिपत्तिज्ञानिम् । परे शैवाः । तदुक्तं शिवसूत्रवृत्तौ ... । त्रिकभेदेऽपि ... । ...... उत्तराम्नायमतमाह शिवेति । शिवशक्त्यात्मकं ज्ञानं शिवशक्त्योरभेदज्ञानमित्यर्थः । यदाहु ....

Padārthādarśa on S.T.T., II, pp.893-94.

2. MAHĀRTHA OR MAHĀRTHA-NAYA

The other equally meaningful and popular denomination of the system is Mahārtha. In its most current form the word Mahārtha is used to denote the system[1], but occasionally the word Dṛṣṭi (i.e., point of view or philosophy)[2] or Naya[3] (i.e., system) has also been added to give it a more compact look. Historically the term Mahārtha as a substitute for the word Krama meaning a system is a later development and perhaps the earliest allusion to the system in this form may be traced to Kṣemarāja.[4] And as the system grew the word Mahārtha rather overshadowed the usage of the word Krama in later literature[5] and gained the status of a full-fledged system, as the use of the word siddhānta[6] for it would indicate. In this context it is necessary to note that this word is

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1. युक्तं महानयमयीं न विहाय शक्यं।सर्वोत्तमो त्तमतमो हि ततो महार्थः ।।
   महार्थकथनं यस्या विना यादृशतादृशम् । M.P.(T).1.4
   यां विनापि नयस्यास्य वैलक्षण्यं न जायते ।। Ibid, 7.135.
2. ननु श्रीमन्महार्थदृष्ट्या । Sp.N., p.6.
   श्रीमन्महार्थदृष्ट्या दुर्गादिदेवीप्रसरणक्रमेण ... । Pr.Hr., p.64.
   दिव्यमहार्थदृष्ट्याविष्टास्तेभ्यो नमो नमः, वीप्सयैषामेव परतत्त्ववित्त्वं ध्वनति।
   S.St.V., p.346.
   महार्थदृष्ट्या चिदैक्यामृतेन पूरितेषु ... । Ibid, p.199.
3. महार्थनयाभेदसारेण एकत्वेन च । S.St.V., p.48
4. Cf. Fns. 2 and 3. infra
5. Cf. Fn.1. infra Also see M.M.P., pp.179,194,197,201.
6. यत्र संभूयसर्वसाम्यस्वभावा महार्थसिद्धान्तोपनिषदुन्मील्यते ।
   M.M.P., p.174.

employed to convey two different, though complementary, senses. In the first place it is a name of a philosophical system,[1] and in the second, it stands for the ideal or value the system deems to be the utlimate and, consequently, harnesses its entire energy to attain the same.[2] Really speaking the first sense is derived from the second one and, hence, stands for that system which deals with the principle of Mahārtha.

It may, however, be noted in passing that the word Mahārtha seems to have been formulated under the tantric impact, particularly, of the Tripurā system. It is conceived to serve as the basic substrate for the totality of the six-fold reality or meaning as envisaged in the Śākta tantras. A peep into a statement[3] of Maheśvarānanda would perhaps

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1. प्रान्तवर्तीनिवचक्रसंप्रदाय: सोऽयं महार्थ: । M.P.(S), p.15.
   महार्थसंप्रदायत्वात् ... । Ibid, p.56.
२. स एव च महार्थात्मा माहार्थिकमनीषिणाम् । Quoted from the Pādukodaya, M.M.P., p.12.
   अलमर्त्र श्रुतिस्मृत्यादीनां बाह्यविधानाम् महार्थोपायतया प्रत्यायनप्रागल्भ्येनेति यावत् । Ibid, p.178.
   निर्गतोऽथ (ऽथ) महार्थगुम्फित: संभृतौ जननि तेऽन्वय: क्रम: । C.G.C., 1.3.92.
   एवं च उपक्रमोपसंहारयोर्महार्थसंपुटीकारं दर्शयन् तत्सारतया समस्तशांकरोपनिषन्मूर्धन्यतामस्याविष्करोति शास्त्रस्य । Sp.N.p.74.
   महार्थं मुद्रामुदितस्येयमुक्त: । S.St.V., p.106.
   महार्थपरिपूर्णस्यास्य सारोपदेशवर्षीणि इमानि सूक्तानि । Ibid, p.300.
   अल्पसत्त्वतया च महार्थज्ञानोपदेशाश्वासरहिता: । S.T.U., I, p.11.
3. योऽयं महाप्रबन्धेनोपक्रान्तोऽ [भावार्थ: सम्प्रदायोऽर्थो निगमार्थश्च कौलिक: ।
   तथा सर्वरहस्यार्थो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ॥
   इत्याम्नायस्थित्या तत्तदशेषार्थतत्त्ववैचित्र्यसमष्ट्यधिष्ठानरूपतया महान् सर्वार्थभेदप्रभेदक्रोडीकारविचक्षणोऽर्थ: प्राप्यं तत्त्वम् । M.M.P., p.183.

explain the basis of the present contention.

Let us, now, enquire into the precise meaning and nature of the Mahārtha. Why is it that it is preferred to name the principle of fundamental reality as Mahārtha? The obvious reason seems to be that the Tantric philosophy usually holds that the ultimate reality has two aspects - word and meaning (vācaka and vācya). The entire stretch of our field of experience, whether mundane or meta-mundane, is subsumed under these two aspects which are knit together by the relations of significand-significans (Vācaka-vācya-bhāva). Thus the ultimate reality, in its aspect as the Logos, i.e., word, is the Vācaka and so is it, with regard to its ontological being and formal becoming, the Import, i.e., Vācya. Vācya and Artha being synonymous, it is the absolute or the basic reality that is termed as Mahārtha.[1] Thus the term Mahārtha, as denotative of the "great principle of meaning or reality" brings into relief the emergent nature of reality as containing the total possibilities of self-becoming. This has an explicit reference to the dynamic aspect of reality which comprehends and accounts for the cosmic expansion of the Absolutic personality. The Krama is necessarily related with this emergence and expression of Reality.[2]

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1. वाच्यवाचकसंबंधाल्लक्ष्यलक्षकयो व्यङ्ग्य-
व्यंजकभावाच्च महार्थः प्रस्फुरेच्छिवः ।

2. संख्यातवर्णपदकमन्त्राध्वानमवस्यता ।
मया तद्वाच्यसर्वस्वं वक्ष्यतेऽत्र विचिन्त्यैत ।।

M.P.(S),p.2.

Śitikaṇṭha, the celebrated author of the Mahānaya-Prakāśa, has devoted the first and third chapters(Udayas) of his treatise exlusively to discuss and determine the precise meaning of the term Mahārtha. A few aspects of the problem have again been looked into in the fourth and eleventh chapters. For want of space it is not possible to go into each detail, but an attempt will be made to study his important observations in this regard.

He himself poses the problem - what can be said to be the great meaning denoted by the word Mahārtha,[1] and proceeds to answer. His primary contention has it is that in view of the monistic ideology under the shadow of the one and unitary reality, none else than the reality itself which is one with consciousness, can be the true import of the term. But when it comes to adopting an analytical attitude towards reality, there are five things that may afford to be called Mahārtha. These five are - (i) the indivisible and partless reality; (ii) aspects of that reality; (iii) approaches leading to the attainment of reality, or (iv) to that of the aspect thereof; and (v) ancillary approaches that are instrumental to the

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1. ननु को नाम महार्थस्य महानर्थोऽभिधेयः ? ... कोऽन्यो ....
चित्स्वरूपान्महार्थशब्दस्य पात्रम् ।

M.P.(S).,p.20.

fruition or fructification of the primary approaches indicated above.[1] Of course, it is reality proper which may be called Mahārtha in its own right, while the rest are so called only indirectly or secondarily.[2]

After interpreting the term Mahārtha from the point of view of reality, he now goes ahead to define the same from the point of view of our experience, spiritual or otherwise. He again puts the question - what is this Mahārtha, is it to meditate upon the cycles and their presiding deities? No, it denotes the condition when one is completely possessed of the feeling of self-sameness[3] with the Absolute. He takes up eight instances[4] for the sake of illustration and each instance in their ultimate analysis is found to culminate in or turn out as the experience of unity and non-duality with the self. Thus by Mahārtha we are to understand that state of

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1. स्वमखण्डस्य वस्तुनस्तद्दर्शानां च ये उपाया:, तदुपायसिद्धिहेतवो वापि उपायान्तराणि - इति स्वत: पारम्पर्येण वा महार्थसंज्ञाया: पंचैव विषया: सन्ति इति सिद्धम् । M.P.(S),p.24.

2. महार्थवाङ्मुख्यगत्या स्वस्वरूपाभिधायिका ।
पारम्पर्येण तत्प्राप्तेरन्यत्रैतन्निबन्धनम् ।। Ibid,p.21.

3. अथ कोऽयं महार्थो नाम, किं चक्रचक्रेश्वरीसंनिवेशविशेषानुस्मरणमात्रम् ? नैतद् - महान् चिदद्वयदशावेशो महार्थ इति ब्रूम: । Ibid,p.36.

4. तथा च - पंचेन्द्रियग्रहणानां ... इति अष्टम: , इति । Ibid,pp.36-37.

of mind or spiritual awakening which never loses the sight of ultimate non-duality in all sorts of experiences, whatever the realm of existence they might belong to.[1] Because everything that can be thought of is but an instance of the basically monistic principle. In other words, therefore, the perfect state of mind or the state of self-fulfilment may be equally designated as Mahārtha — that dispels even the slightest tinge of distinction between 'I' and 'you', i.e., the self and the non-self.[2] The same state of self-perfection is identified with the Anākhya stage in the doctrinal parlance which, too, is said to be characterised by harmony and utter want of duality.[3] It, thus, may be logically concluded that these items, i.e., the unitary character of reality and the basically non-dual harmonions experience etc., form the main subject-matter of the system. Hence the name Mahārtha.

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1. इति - सर्वप्रकारमास्थितस्य अद्वैतस्य सर्वास्ववस्थासु चिदद्वयाविप्रमोषो नाम महार्थशब्दव्यपदेश्योऽस्तु ।

M.P.(S),p.37.

2. अतश्च आत्मनः परिपूर्णावृत्तिर्महार्थः प्रतिपन्नो भवति ।... निजानां परेषां च यदद्वयीभावनं नाम दर्शनार्थसतत्त्वम् ।

Ibid,p.48.

3. एक एव अखण्डचिदाभासस्मोऽनाख्य - क्रममयो भेदविगलनेन सामरस्यमयो महार्थः ।

Ibid,p.120.

See, for details, Pt.II,Chap.3, sec.6.

3. MAHĀNAYA

The term Mahānaya as an appellation of the Krama system appears to have been a favourite of the later Krama authors. Because the earliest references available do not go back beyond Śivānanda, the author of the Mahānaya-Prakāśa (T).[1] But that the phrase was extremely popular is evinced by the very fact that at least the two important krama texts have been named after it. The one is just referred to above and the other is by Śitikaṇṭha. The other references to it, indicative of its denoting a system, are found in Jayaratha[2], Śitikaṇṭha[3] and Ananta Śaktipāda[4]. It has got exactly the same meaning as its counterpart, Mahārtha. At least once it has been stated that the word 'mahā (Mahān) in the compound stands for "Artha", i.e., reality.[5] It may also be surmised following present line of thinking that the word Mahānaya was probably a condensed or obridged form of the phrase Mahārthanaya wherein 'Mahān' stood for reality (as conceived by the Krama system) and

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1. युक्तिं महानयमयीं न विहाय शक्यम् । — M.P.(T).1.4.
   स्थितेष्वपि च सोल्लेखो व्यापको हि महानयः । — Ibid,1.31.
   महानयस्यानुगुणं चिद्रूपं प्रतिपादितम् । — Ibid,3.92.
   महानयमहायानवेदान्ताद्यवादिनः । — Ibid,7.26.
2. प्रकृतमहानयशिष्याः प्रथितास्त्रयः सर्वशास्तु । — T.A.V.,III,p.195
3. तत्पीठमेव सर्वप्रकारं समस्तमहानयालंकारभूतम् । — M.P.(S),p.50
4. इत्थं महानयोक्तदिशा । — V.N.S.V.,p.5
5. महानयक्रमे पूर्वं 'महा शब्दोऽर्थयुक्तिभाक् ।। — MP.(T),1.29.

Naya' for the system.

4. MAHĀSĀRA

We are not absolutely certain that the word Mahāsāra stood for the Krama system. But in the context in which this phrase[1] is found, is weighty enough to support the hypothesis that Kṣemarāja wants us to believe that it was another way of presenting the Mahārtha ideal. Because the phrase immediately follows his remark that the Stotra in question (i.e., Divya-krīḍābahumānastotra) is replete with the statements bearing upon the Mahārtha-tattva.[2] Moreover, his qualifying the word Mahāsāra ~~with Mahartha~~ with the epithet Śrīmān,[3] as he usually does with Mahārtha when he wishes to refer to the system,[4] strengthens our conjecture.

5. ATINAYA

On the authority of an extract cited by Jayaratha in order to demonstrate the lack of complete unanimity with regard to the precise line of the Krama teachers, it may be

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1. श्रीमन्महासारोक्तिमयेऽमुत्र स्तोत्रे । S.St., V., p.302.
2. इति महार्थपरिपूर्णस्यास्य सारोपदेशवर्षीणि इमानि सूक्तानि उल्लसन्ति । Ibid, p.300.
3. Cf. fn. 1. *infra*
4. Cf. Sp.N., p.5; Pr.Hṛ., p.64.

concluded that the Krama system was also known as Atinaya.[1] In Śitikaṇṭha one finds this position categorically endorsed.[2]

Here a problem poses itself which escapes a definite solution for the present. Abhinavagupta, while enumerating different systems of the Kashmir Śaiva group, also mentions a system named Atimārga.[3] Since the Atimārga is mentioned side by side the Krama and Kula, it is natural to treat them as the separate lines of thought. But, curiously enough, Jayaratha cites a passage[4] which presents Atimārga as Kula, because the reference is being made to Sumatinātha, the great-grand-teacher of Abhinava in the Kula system. Now the problem can briefly be put as under -

(a) Do the two terms, namely, Atinaya and Atimārga, stand for one and the same system? if so, which is that system, since

(i) Atimārga is different from the Krama and Kula systems according to Abhinava,

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1. संततयाऽतिनयस्य प्रथिता इह षाडेशैवेत्यम् । T.A.V., III, p.195.
2. अस्मिंश्चातिनयसारसर्वस्वे क्रमार्थे । M.P.(S), p.126.
   भवतामतिनयाविष्टानाम् । Ibid, p.141.
3. अतिमार्गक्रमकुलत्रिकस्रोतोऽन्तरादिषु । M.V.V., 1.192.
4. पंचस्रोतसि सातिमार्गविभवे शास्त्रे विधाता च यः ।
   लोके मूर्त्समति .... । T.A.V., I, p.236.

(ii) Atinaya is identified with the Krama, as has been noted above,

(iii) Atimārga is identified with the Kula system by an authority approvingly quoted by Jayaratha.

There are two alternatives that may be advanced as probably answers. First, the Atimārga may be taken as constituting a common trait of all the monistic systems of Kashmir which, according to the unanimous verdict of the tradition, are inherently superior (atinaya--nayam atikramya) to other systems. Hence its equation with either of the Kula and Krama does not cause much difficulty. The separate identity of the Kula and Krama withers away when the Krama ultimately culminates in the Kula. This contention has a purely hypothetical value in the absence of any positive evidence to bear it out. The second alternative is suggested by a cue from Śitikaṇṭha. The Atinaya, accordingly, may be identified with the Samaya-Vidyā, i.e., Tripurā system, in the sense that the highest ideal of the Krama system is also the supreme goal of the Samaya-vidyā marking the culmination of the entire panorama of the Krama.[1] This

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1. अस्मिंश्चातिनयसारसर्वस्वे क्रमार्थे यच्चरमं स्थानं तत्रैव [illegible] सर्वेषां क्रमाणां विश्रान्तत्वात् तस्यैव प्राधान्याद सैव समयविद्या ।

M.P.(S).,p.126.

alternative seems more plausible, because Kashmir's contribution to the Tripurā system is immense and in no measure less than that to the Kula etc. The Krama system may also be viewed as a transitionary link between the Kula, a Śaiva system, and the Tripurā, a Śākta system, with no fundamental difference except one in their emphases on one of the two aspects. When Abhinavagupta refers to the Atimārga as independent of the Kula, he might have had his eyes fixed upon the two systems (Tripurā and Kula) intending to highlight their individual status. And where Atinaya is identified with Krama or Atimārga with Kula, the emphasis seems to be on their agreements. We however leave the question open for future research with the comment that irrespective of the pros and cons of the present hypothesis, there was a time in the history of the Krama thought when the word Atinaya signified the Krama system. Thus the controversy comes to address itself to the feasibility and tenability of the equation between the Atimārga and the Atinaya.

6. <u>DEVATĀNAYA OR DEVĪNAYA</u>

From the context it is obvious that Jayaratha interprets the word Devīnaya in terms of the Krama system.[1]

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1. ... च देवीनये क्रत: शिष्या: । T.A.V., III, p. 196.

The doctrine that holds the female divinity (the female aspect of reality, i.e., Śakti or Kālī) as the ultimate principle is designated as Devatānaya[1]. The main thesis of the system consists in the capacity of reality (in its female aspect) to come out and chisel the entire multiplicity even without the support of a canvas. The term Devatānaya is more palatable to those who subscribe to the theory of the absolute ultimacy of the female aspect and relegate the male aspect of reality (i.e., Śiva) to a slightly inferior position. They believe in the basic identity of the two aspects, yet feel that whatever their difference, howsoever minute, is worthy of careful attention for the infallible and correct realization. To them, therefore, the Parmeśvara (or the Lord-Absolute) marks the end of the traffic of time (kāla), whereas the Devī (the Lady-Absolute) is the repository or the culminating point of that end itself.[2] Śitikaṇṭha cites certain āgamic source in order to suggest that the Devatānaya (i.e., system of the goddess) is the system that revolves round the functional theory and where the functions,

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1. सा देवी कथ्यते तस्या नयोऽसौ देवतानयः ।   M.P.(T) 3.109.

2. यत्रापटेऽपरिदृष्टि** (ण्णा?णो)ऽपि टंकोऽसौ नयस्ततः ।
   या कालग्रासविश्रान्तिस्तद्रूपं परमेशितुः ।
   या तु विश्रान्तिविश्रान्तिस्तद्देवीरूपमिष्यते ।
   इत्थं सू(क्ष्म?क्ष्मे) भिदातारूपो भेदो यत्परमेशयोः ।
   ऐक्येऽपि दर्शितं सम्यक् प्रकीर्तित प्रतीतिपरिशुद्धये ॥   M.P.(T).3.109-111.

**Avagraha(ऽ) after Apate has been added by us to make the line intelligible.

e.g., Sṛṣṭi, etc., are the other names of the powers of the absolute such as volition etc.[1]

7. KĀLĪNAYA

There are no particular reasons for naming it as Kālīnaya[2] other than those adduced above. The Devī, which is the absolute ontological principle is designated as Kālī or Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī[3]. Another possible reason might accrue from its adherence to the Anākhyā-krama or Saṁvi-ccakra which accounts for cosmic emanation in terms of the twelve (or thirteen) Kālīs.[4]

8. CONCLUSION

There are a few other designations of the Krama system which are not considered for fear of unnecessary details. Moreover, those appellations do not have the common approval of the Krama authors. If they are coined and also referred to, the intention always has been to reflect on the nexus between the Krama system and the particular context

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1. इच्छानुपातिनी सृष्टिः स्थितिश्चित्तवमत्वृतिः ।
तदभावेन संहारो यस्यान्ते देवतानयः ॥ M.P.(S),p.45.

2. अभिनवगुप्तस्यगुरोर्यस्य हि कालीनये गुरुता ।
T.A.V.,II,p.193.

3&4. See, Pt.II, Chap.2.

in which they figure. Nevertheless, a few denominations, that have bearing on its tantric character, have been taken into account in our enquiry on the tantric character of the Krama system.

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CHAPTER THREE

KRAMA AS A TANTRIC SYSTEM

(An analysis and exploratory study of the fundamentals of the Krama Tantricism in the wider perspective of the esoteric tantricism of the monistic Śaivism of Kashmir.)

(41-65)

1. RISE OF TANTRICISM IN KRAMA: A LATER DEVELOPMENT

Profuse references to the tantric leanings of the Krama system in the past impel us to advert to the study of the tantric character of the system. The entire growth of the Krama thought has undergone a radical process of transformation from philosophy to tantricism or, ~~to be more exact~~ a journey from the metaphysical speculation to the tantric practice and symbolism or, to be more exact, from the philosophic tantricism to the esoteric tantricism.

From the earliest phase devoted to the analysis and examination of the functional and activistic character of the absolutic dynamism, one comes to an era of pure tantricism in Maheśvarānanda who describes his work as a Tantra[1] with a sense of pride. It is no doubt a fact that the Krama system, having been nurtured under āgamic influence, had tantric associations from the very beginning, yet the philosophical and mystical side enjoyed the upperhand. Later on, the same was made subservient to the tantric demands on it.

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1. महार्थमञ्जर्याह्वयं महत् तन्त्रम् .... । M.M.P., p.2.
   सूत्राणि सप्ततिस्तन्त्रे महार्थे मन्त्रगर्भिणी । Ibid, p.198.
   ग्राह्येयमौत्तरमहाक्रमतन्त्रगर्भा । Ibid, p.201.

2. TANTRA-PRAKRIYĀ VERSUS KULA-PRAKRIYĀ: KRAMA AS A PART OF THE TANTRA-PRAKRIYĀ IN THE TANTRĀLOKA

The very fact that Abhinavagupta deals with the Krama system in the Tantrāloka (lit., the light of the Tantras) makes out a strong case in support of its tantric build up. This conclusion does not take into account the circumstantial evidence alone. It is, in fact, implied according to Jayaratha, in the very scheme of the Tantrāloka. He says, the whole subjectmatter of the Tantrāloka falls under two heads, viz., Tantra-Prakriyā and Kula-Prakriyā[1]. One is not immediately concerned with Abhinava's comparatively more favourable disposition toward the Kula. What is significant is the fact that the mainstream of the monistic thought has been split into two currents. The first current, namely, the Tantra-Prakriyā is traced to Tryambaka, and the other one, namely, the Kula-Prakriyā to Ardha-Tryambaka.[2] As the tradition has it, there were four preceptorial schools (or line of teachers) technically known as Maṭhikās. The schools founded by Amardaka and Śrīnātha and continued by

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1. अतश्च वक्ष्यमाणशास्त्रस्य कुलतन्त्रप्रक्रियात्मकेन द्वैविध्ये ... ।

T.A.V., I, p.24.

एवं च तन्त्रप्रक्रियोपासन्नगुर्वभिमुखीकरणान्तरं विश्रान्तिस्थानतया कुलप्रक्रिया-गुरुमपि उत्कर्षयति । Ibid., p.31.

2. इति वक्ष्यमाणस्थित्या श्रीसन्तत्यामर्दकत्र्यम्बकार्धत्र्यम्बकाख्यासु सार्धासु तिसृषु मठिकासु मध्यात् वक्ष्यमाणतन्त्रप्रक्रियायाः त्र्यम्बकमठिकाश्रयणेन आयातिक्रमोऽस्ति ।

Ibid, p.27.

their spiritual descendents related to the dualistic and dualistic-cum-monistic trends of thought respectively. Tryambaka was responsible for propagation of the monistic thought. In his case the most peculiar thing is that he is credited with having inspired two monistic schools - one which he propagated directly was called the Traiyambaka Maṭhikā and the other which was founded by a descendent on his daughter's side won the title of the Ardha-traiyambaka Maṭhikā.[1] It is these two schools that are sought to be identified with the Tantra and Kula Prakriyās respectively. But it is quite likely that one may miss the precise implications of the above contention with regard to the Krama system. It may be noted that, while the Kula system is accorded a separate identity as constituting Ardha-Traiyambaka line of thinking, all other monistic systems, namely, Trika, Krama and Pratyabhijñā (Spanda excluded),[2] are subsumed under the Tantra-prakriyā or the Traiyambaka school.[3] It is further to be noted that the fact of such inclusion has not been admitted openly, but the conclusion becomes irresistible when one finds the entire Ṣadhardha

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1. Cf. T.A.V., I, pp.26-28 and Abhi., pp.132-136.

2. Cf. Pt.I, Chap.I, Sec. 3-A.

3. निखिलशास्त्रोपनिषद्भूतस्य षाडर्धक्रमविज्ञानस्य त्रैयम्बकसन्तानद्वारेण अवतारकत्वात् ।

T.A.V., I, p.28.

Krama-Vijñāna, (one of the typical ways of presenting the monistic-Śaiva thinking of Kashmir in general)[1] being identified with the Traiyambaka school. It may also be noted that although the Krama and Trika etc., have different secular history, they seem to be one in the matter of their original tantric structure. This is borne out by two other factors. One factor consists in the generally acclaimed close affinity between the Trika and the Krama.[2] The assertion that the Krama system finally culminates in the Kula refers more to the future spiritual possibilities of the Krama system than to their present make-up, while the identity between the Trika and Krama systems ensues from their present character. The other factor happens to be that Abhinava learnt Krama from that very set of teachers led by Somānanda from whom he learnt Trika and

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1. सन्ति पद्धतयश्चित्राः स्रोतोभेदेषु भूयसा ।
   अनुत्तरषडर्धार्थक्रमे त्वेकापि नेक्ष्यते ॥ T.A. 1.14.

2. अनेन श्रीमहार्थत्रिकदर्शनयोरन्योन्यं नात्यन्तं भेदप्रथेति व्याख्यातम् ।

   M.M.P., p.96.

   Be it noted that while dwelling upon the Krama concept of parity between predication and negation निषेधविधितुल्यत्व) Jayaratha generally refers to Krama as Trika, as if the two were one. See, T.A.V., III, pp.279-290. Also cf. Pt.II, Chap.I, Sec. 11-F (I).

Pratyabhijñā[1]. As opposed to this, he had a different line of teachers for the Kula culminating in Śambhunātha. And yet both the Tantra and Kula Prakriyās join each other as a part and parcel of a monolithic monistic complex evolved by Abhinavagupta. This may be perhaps due to :

(i) the descent of divine revelation of the monistic character through the same source, namely, Tryambaka (either directly or indirectly) and

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1. श्रीदेवीपंचशतिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादेभ्यः प्रभृति त्रिकदर्शनवदेव गुरवः । T.A.V.,II,p.194.

Jayaratha lends additional support to the above contention in following lines :-

'पूर्वे जयन्ति गुरवः'[a] इति सामान्येन कृतेऽपि नमस्कारे योगांगत्वेन समानेऽपि ..... 'तर्को योगांगमुत्तमं'[b] इत्याद्युक्त्या परमोपादेय-स्वप्रकाशस्वात्मेश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञापनपरस्य तर्कस्य कर्तारो व्याख्यातारश्च परं नमस्कर्तव्याः इति विशेषप्रयोजकीकारेण गुरु-परमगुरु-परमेष्ठिनः[c] पुनरपि परामृष्टुमाह । T.A.V.,I,p.30

a. T.A.1.8. refering to the earlier teachers of the Traiyambaka school, i.e., Tantra Prakriyā.

b. M.V.T. 17.18 suggesting the Krama doctrine of Sattarka, i.e., Right Logic.

c. Lakṣmaṇagupta, Utpala and Somānanda respectively, vide T.A. 1.10-11.

(ii) the Kula's unflinching adherence to the āgamic wisdom in common with the fellow doctrines, as contained in the Mālinī-Vijayottara Tantra and thus inclusion of the Kula under the broader Trika scheme.[1]

3. TANTRA-PRAKRIYĀ ANALYZED

It is disquieting to see that Abhinava, even though subjecting his observations to the minutest analysis, nowhere mentions 'his' conception of the Trantra-Prakriyā[2] in

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1. ननु सामान्येव त्रिकदर्शनप्रक्रियाकरणं प्रतिज्ञाय, संभवत्यपि तदर्थाभिधायिनि शास्त्रजाते किमिति श्रीमालिनीविजयोत्तरमेवाधिकृत्य तन्निर्वाहयिष्यते इत्याशंक्य आह .... सारभूतत्वात् सर्वशास्त्राणाम् । एतदेवाह

   दशाष्टादशवस्वष्टभिन्नं यच्छासनं विभोः ।
   तत्सारं त्रिकशास्त्रं हि तत्सारं मालिनीमतम् ॥

   T.A.V.,I,p.35.

2. No attempt is made here to define the word Tantra. In tantric parlance, however, it is called Tantra because it promulgates great knowledge concerning reality (tattva) and Mantra, and because it saves from the worldly trammels -

   तनोति विपुलान् अर्थान् तत्त्वमन्त्रसमन्वितान् ।
   त्राणं च कुरुते यस्मात् तन्त्रमित्यभिधीयते ॥

   Kāmika Āgama, Tantrantara Patala.

   Owing to his uncompromising monistic attitude the Trika author views the phenomenon of knowledge as a continuity and totality of the Final Awareness. Hence, to a ~~txt~~ Trika author the Tantra stands for such a text where the teacher, the taught and the teaching - everything

(contd........

contrast with the Kula Prakriyā. It remains for his students to draw their own conclusions.

One is, therefore, supposed to directly appeal to the contents of the Tantrāloka, Tantrasāra and Mahārtha-mañjarī (which is professedly presented as a tantric treatise) to

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contd...) happens to be identical with the supreme consciousness and it is consciousness that enacts the role of the teacher and the taught in the form of the enquirer and the replier,

स्वयमेव विबोधश्च तथा प्रश्नोत्तरात्मक: ।
गुरु-शिष्यपदेऽप्येषा देहभेदो ह्यतात्त्विक: ॥ T.A.1.256.

भिन्नयो: पृष्टृतदवक्त्रोश्चैकात्म्यं यत्स उच्यते ।
संबंध: परता चास्य पूर्णैकात्म्यप्रथामयी ॥ Ibid.275.

cp. गुरु-शिष्यपदे स्थित्वा स्वयं देव: सदाशिव: ॥
पूर्वोत्तरवाक्यैस्तन्त्रमाधारभेदत: । Sw.T.8.33.

But such descriptions fail to enlighten us about the precise nature and subject-matter of the Tantras. For details of the etymology, genesis and definition of the word Tantra see Sakti and Sakta, Sir John Woodroffe, pp.52-53 and History of Dharma Sastra, Kane, V-II, pp.1031-33.

Unswervering mind and controlled senses- these two things are said to constitute the essential features of the tantras. Vide -

जितानि येनेन्द्रियाणि मनो यस्य वशे स्थितम् ॥..
स्वकार्ये ~~बच~~ परकार्ये वा यस्य बुद्धि: स्थिरा भवेत् ॥..
इत्येष तान्त्रिको न्याय: कथितस्तु समासत: ॥ Sw.T.10.71-73.

This is all that we find expressly mentioned in the essentials of tantric culture. But this, too, does not give us insight into the bases of the tantric way of thinking as well as living.

find out what are the tantric features the Krama system claims to partake of .[1]

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1. For fuller grasp of the subject and comparative analysis of the common features of the tantras Woodroffe's following observation will be helpful :-

"As instances of general ideas I may cite the following: the conception of Deity as a Supreme Personality (Parāhamtā) and of the double aspect of God in one of which He really is or becomes the Universe; a true emanation from Him in His creative aspect; successive emanations (Ābhāsa, Vyūha) as of "fire from fire" from subtle to grass; doctrine of Śakti; pure and impure creation; the denial of unconscious Māyā, such as Śaṁkara teaches; doctrine of Māyā Kośa and the Kañcukas (the Six Śaiva Kañcukas being, as Dr. Shrader says, represented by the possibly earlier classification in the Pañcarātra of the three Saṁkocas); the carrying of the origin of things up and beyond Puruṣa-Prakṛti, the Sāṁkhyan Guṇas, and evolution of Tattvas as applied to the doctrine of Śakti; affirmation of the reality of the Universe; emphasis on devotion (Bhakti); provision for all castes and both sexes.

"Instances of common practice are for example Mantra, Bīja, Yantra, Mudrā, Nyāsa, Bhūtaśuddhi, Kuṇḍaliniyoga, construction and consecration of temples and images (Kriyā), religious and social observances (Caryā) such as Āhnika, Varṇāśrama, Dharma, Utsava; and practical magic (Māyāyoga). Where there is Mantra, Yantra, Nyāsa, Dīkṣā, Guru, and the like, there is Tantra Śāstra. In fact one of the names of the latter is Mantra Śāstra. With these similarities there are certain variations of doctrines and practice between the schools. Necessarily also, even on points of common similarity, there is some variance in terminology and exposition which is unessential. "vide Śakti and Śākta, pp.58-59. Vide also Introduction to "Principles of Tantra", Pt.II, pp.XII-XIV; "The Śāktas by E.A.Payne, p.137, for a similar view. Also cf. History of Dharma Sastra, Vol.V, Pt. 2, p.1092, fn. 1768.

3-A. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF TANTRA AS OUTLINED IN THE TANTRASĀRA

Abhinava in his *Tantrasāra*, an epitome of the tantric knowledge, seems to suggest the following points as common grounds among the monistic tantras :-

(i) ignorance as imperfect knowledge identified with impurity (mala); twofold division of ignorance in the form of spiritual (Pauruṣa) and conceptual (Bauddha), the latter being more important as constituting primary step towards self-realization ;

(ii) Reality as self-luminosity and consciousness;

(iii) objective multiplicity as a manifestation of Awareness;

(iv) the Supreme Consciousness as Free will;

(v) Reality as simultaneously transcendent and immanent due to its integral dynamism and freedom;

(vi) individual self or empirical being as a phenomenon of self-limitation of reality;

(vii) re-emergence of the limited self as Universal Self spontaneously owing to unrestricted agency of the self or gradually with the help of earlier means necessitating the refinement of Vikalpas;[1]

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1. For points from (i) to (vii) see T.S., pp.2-7.

(viii) necessity of Sattarka (right logic), Ṣadāgama (right scripture) and Sadguru (right teacher) as aids to re-emergence of eclipsed personality in original splendour on a graduated scale through purification of thought-constructs;

(ix) Sattarka (right logic) the most efficacious part of the Yoga, as an immediate means for self-attainment,

(x) recourse to practices such as, Yāga, Homa, Vrata, Yoga etc., for subliming the right logic which is pure-knowledge (Śuddha-Vidyā);

(xi) realization of perfection-consciousness through manifestation of totality of powers;

(xii) supremacy of the Trika scriptures.[1]

3-B. MAHEŚVARĀNANDA AND RAMYADEVA ON TANTRA AS WELL AS THE TANTRIC CHARACTER OF KRAMA

Maheśvarānanda in his Gāthās 2,[2] 69[3] which he devotes exclusively to examining the essentials of a tantra and

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1. For points from (viii) to (xii) cf., T.S., pp.21-32.
2. अथ तन्त्रप्रतिपाद्यमर्थंतत्त्वं तत्परिज्ञानस्य प्रयोजनतयान्वेष्यतां चाभिदधानः ।
M.M.P.,p.9.
3. प्रक्रान्तस्य महातन्त्रस्य निष्कृष्टमर्थंतत्त्वं संग्रहेणोद्घाटयितुमाह ।
Ibid,p.180.

by implication of his Mahārtha tantra, i.e., Mahārtha-manjarī, too, is more specific and precise than the generalization of those that have not been covered above. Thus these aspects are :

(i) The worldly multiplicity represented by sensuous objects such as touch, sound etc., ordinarily supposed to be binding turns out to be the unfailing means of self-realisation.[1]

(ii) The means and goal of the spiritual attainment are identical.[2]

(iii) Harmony of the two aspects of reality, i.e., Being (Prakāśa) and Dynamism (Vimarśa) constitutes the nucleus of our physical being which too is identical with the totality of six channels (Adhvans).[3]

(ix) Abhyudaya and Niḥśreyas of the Vedic termonology are transformed into Bhoga and Mokṣa in the tantric phraseology. While ordinarily enjoyment (bhoga) and

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1. दर्शनान्तरप्रणीतमनीषया संसारनिबंधनत्वेनोपकल्पित: शब्दस्पर्शादिविषय-
विदाभो जीवन्मुक्तिलक्षणाह्लाद स्वभावं स्वात्मनो विमर्शं प्रत्युपायतयोप-
दिश्यते ।
M.M.P.,p.14.

2. अस्य चोपायोपेयभावस्य अव्यभिचारस्वभावसामरस्योद्भावनाय ... ।
Ibid.

3. यदिदं षडध्वोल्लाससमष्टिरूपस्य स्वशरीरस्यानुप्राणनतयावतिष्ठमानमविकल्पा-
वस्थायां तदुत्तीर्णोल्लेखं च सत्प्रकाशविमर्शद्वितयमेलापलक्षणमन्तस्तत्त्वं
हृदयमित्युच्यते ।
Ibid,p.181.

freedom (mokṣa) cannot be combined as being opposite forces, they are synthesized into one unit marking the state of liberation where an object of enjoyment is visualized as an expression of self-reality.[1]

(v) Wine, woman and meat which stand badly condemned in other systems occupy a place of basic importance in the ritualistic scheme because they offer a **crucial** and hard test of one's spiritual advancement.[2]

(vi) Mantra is the fundamental component of any spiritual or textual adventure as it stands for the indeterminate matrix of the world known as Parā-Vāk. The same is also identified with the principle of supreme agency consisting in I-consciousness or self-experience that enlivens the mantra.[3]

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1. येन च क्षणमात्रानुबद्धेनापि जननमरणाद्यशेषोपद्रवव्युदासशाली
जीवन्मोक्षलक्ष्मीमहोपभोगः संपद्यते ।
M.M.P., p.182.

2. अन्यशास्त्रविगर्हितानि महिलामद्यमांसादीन्येव द्रव्याण्यस्मदुपास्यायां
देवतानां सपर्यासु परिबर्हतयाभ्यर्हितानि इति ।
Ibid.

3. येन मन्त्रात्मकैः शब्दैः परमेश्वर्युपास्यते ।...
बाह्यानामान्तराणां च मन्त्राणामुज्ज्वलार्चिषाम् ।
वीर्यमेषैव बोद्धव्या पराहन्तामयी कला ॥
Ibid, pp.198-200.

(vii) Worship (Pūjana), deity (Devatā) and physical postures (Mudrā) - everything transpiring to be essentially a reflection on the individual self's identity with the Universal self - are the factors that impart a definite tantric look to any doctrine.[1]

The fourth aspect is logically deduced from the first one as presented above. In this connection an allusion to a few observations made by Ramyadeva in his commentary on the Bhāvopahāra would make this study more meaningful. He portrays the Krama system as one that believes in the identity of the Full (Pūrṇa) and the Lean (Kṛśa) deity. Implying that even when Reality (i.e., divinity par transcendence) is not involved in cosmic manifestation owing to withdrawal of the latter, it retains its perfection.[2] The other remark relates to the seventh aspect, mentioned above. In his view recourse to the practices like worship etc., being essentially another way of meditative realization of one's divine essence, turns out to be instinctive and integral part of our spiritual personality. As an essential dimension of spiritual being

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1. पूजास्वरूपनिष्कर्षो देवताया निरूपणम् ॥
चिन्तनं मन्त्रतत्त्वस्य वाग्वृत्तिस्फूर्तिनिश्चयः ।
मुद्रास्वरूपपरामर्शो विमर्शस्यात्मवर्तिनः ॥ M.M.P., p.20.

2. इति संहारप्रधानायामपि वृत्तौ अविलुप्तमेव पारिपूर्ण्यम् - इति पूर्णकृशदेवतैका-
त्म्यमयः कोऽपि नयः प्रथितः । B.U.V., p.38.

the act of worship never comes to a close.[1]

3-C. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF KRAMA AS A TANTRIC SYSTEM

Thus it is evident that the Krama as a tantric system rests upon intuition and discourages dialectic. In doing so it approximates to some modern tendenceis of the Western philosophy. The tantric character seeks its fulfilment in the harmonions reconcilement of intuition with practical realization. It is why, by the fourfold divisions of tantric subject matter (Jñāna, Yoga, Kriyā, Caryā) Jñana is linked up with Kriyā and Caryā through Yoga. It also explains the reason behind acclaiming the Mālinī Tantra as the chief source of inspiration, because it struck a balance between speculation and practice.[2] Likewise, synthesis of Bhoga and Moksa - the sine qua non of the tantric philosophy is the tantric rendering of harmony between knowledge and action. The key objective of the Tantrāloka is to expound this theme through an exposition of the four upāyas that are the tantric adaptations of the various systems under the Trika.[3] This synthesis is achieved by leading intuition,

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1. सर्वात्मसात्कारकरणलक्षणः सततोदितोऽकृत्रिमपूजानय उट्टङ्कितः । B.U.V,p.4.

2. तच्च सिद्धा-नामक-मालिन्याख्यखण्डत्रयात्मकत्वात् त्रिविधम् ।
तत्र क्रियाप्रधानं सिद्धातन्त्रं, ज्ञानप्रधानं नामकं तन्त्रं, तदुभयमयं
मालिनीमतम् इति तदेव मुख्यम् । T.A.V.,I,p.49.

3. इति ज्ञानचतुष्कं यत्सिद्धिमुक्तिमहोदयम् ।
तन्मया तन्त्र्यते तन्त्रालोकनाम्न्यत्र शासने ॥ T.A.1.245.

according to the tantra, into higher and higher possibilities by means of Sādhanā, i.e., practice, whose result is the gradual unfolding of the spirit's latent potencies. Thus philosophy of the tantra is a practical philosophy which, according to an emminent Indian author, "not merely 'argues' but 'experiments'".[1]

4. TWO PHASES OF THE KRAMA-TANTRICISM

In the earlier phase which comes to a close with Kṣemarāja or Varadarāja, the Krama system was marked by a definite proclivity towards philosophical and intuitional issues. In tantric phraseology the aspects Jñāna and Yoga remained superior to those of Caryā and Kriyā. It is in fact its main plank against the Kula and Siddhānta doctrines as subsequent study would reveal. But later on the emphasis was reversed and the ritualistic aspect came on the threshold. Mysticism and metaphysics were made to serve the interests of esotericism and ritualism. The tendency makes deeprooted strides as we drift close to Maheśvarānanda and Śitikaṇṭha. Sometimes the author is so lost in esoteric jargon that it becomes a test for a modern

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1. Śakti and Śākta, p.63. The view referred to has been ascribed to Prof. Pramatha Nath Mukhopadhyaya, now of Swami Pratyagatmananda fame.

student[1] to carry on his perusal. However, the later phase attaches importance to the Mudrā, Mantra[2] and Pūjana etc. to the extent that these emerge as the central features of the system. Similarly the Pīṭha, the spiritual seat, which attracted only passing references before, now comes to be eulogised as constituting the most vital

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1. For instance the following phrases from the Bhāvopahāra-vivaraṇa have surpassed the comprehension of the present author:

   देशबन्धादिभिः अष्टोत्तरशतसंख्यातान्तिकमुख्य संप्रदायसिद्धिभूमिको-लंघनक्रमेण अमलतासादनम् (p.23) , चन्द्रकमलमीलनन्यायः (p.28), चिद्रूपचंद्रपीयूषचर्वणेन .... अनुत्तरपरपरिस्पन्दसौन्दर्यावद्योतनेन अमावास्यावासनावासितः कोऽपि संप्रदायः उट्टङ्कितः (p.29) etc.

   It is just an instance, Śitikaṇṭha's work, in particular abounds in such expressions.

2. मुद्रामन्त्रात्मकोऽत्रैव सम्प्रदायोऽनुवर्तते । M.P.(T).7.122

3. उन्मील्यते कथनपूजनसंक्रमात्मा नित्याविलुप्तविभवो गुरुसंप्रदायः ।
   कथनात्मा सम्प्रदायो निष्ठामत्र परां गतः । Ibid.1.5.

   Ibid,7.61; vide also 1.35; 7.41-42, 7.134, 9.67. Vide also M.M.P.,p.86.

element in the system.[1]

The Krama subscribes to the general tantric belief that their philosophy was revealed through the Yoginīs. This

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1. तत्पीठमेव सर्वप्रकारं समस्तमहानयालंकारभूतम् । M.P.(S),p.50

इत्थं पीठाख्य एष महार्थः । Ibid,p.56.

cp. परमरहस्या + + + गुरुवरमुखसम्प्रदायसद्वीजम् ।

पीठक्रमस्वरूपं नत्वा सन्तन्यते प्रथमम् ।। M.P.(T).2.1;also cp.2.41.

The above lines do not try to ascertain the exact number of spiritual seats (Pīṭhas) according to the Krama system. But according to the material available, the indications are that they did not deviate much from these in the other traditions. In support we reproduce an extract from the History of Dharmasastra, by P.V.Kane (Vol.5, Pt.2,p.1038, Fn.No.1673) which brings into open a comparative estimate of tantric thinking in regard to the Pīṭhas. It reads: "It appears that in some Tantra works five Pīṭhas are named (according to H.P.Sastri's Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS in the Nepal Durbar Library, Calcutta, 1905, p.LXXX) Viz. Odiyānā (in Orissa, says H.P.Sastri), Jala (in Jalandhar), Pūrṇa Mataṅga in Śrīśaila and Kāmākhyā in Assam ..... . The Sādhanamālā (Vol.II,pp.453 and 455.) mentions Uddiyāna, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmākhyā and Śrīpīṭha. The Kulacūḍāmaṇitantra (Tantrik Texts,Vol.IV) in 6th Patala, verses 3-7) refers to five Pīṭhas viz. Uddiyānā, Kāmarūpa, Kāmākhyā, Jālandhara and Pūrṇagiri (vide also 3rd Patala, 59-61)". Also vide "The first two are respectively identified with Kāmākhyā or Kāmarūpa (three miles from Gauhati) and modern Sylhet. The exact situation of the other two(Kāmākhyā and Kāmarūpa are identical according to others) is a controversial matter, M.M.H.P. Sastri identified Uddiyānā with Orissa. His son Dr.B.Bhattacharya furnishes good ground for holding that Uddiyāna was near Swat valley in N.W.India and Gronsset "In the footsteps of Buddha" pp.109-110 holds the same view " (Ibid,pp.1038-39.)

For the sake of relevancy it may be pointed out that Maheśvarānanda does not treat Śrīpītha and Uddiyānā as two separate pīṭhas. Though Oddiyānā is a subordinate pīṭha yet it ranks supreme in its effectiveness as spiritual

(contd......

belief is a legacy of the earlier stages[1] and has been retained

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.....contd.) seat (श्रीपीठेति तस्य पूज्यतोत्कर्षेण महत्त्वं चोच्यते ।
महत्त्वं च तदोड्ड्याणादीनामवान्तरपीठत्वेऽपि सर्वप्रतिष्ठाभूमितया
प्रधानपीठत्वात् । M.M.P., p.36) Sitikantha echoes the same view (vide, M.P.(S) pp.2 and 50). It may be mentioned that the former belonged to Chola in Kerala, whereas the latter to Kashmir. The Cidgagana-Candrika, extols Purnapitha as the highest
(पूर्णपीठमवगम्य मंगलेत्वत्प्रसादमकृतेमया कृतं । C.G.C. 4.128).
There is mention of another Pitha e.g., Uttarapitha which is identical with present Kashmir-
(ततो ध्यातं तु तत्पीठं सर्वपीठोत्तमं बहिः ।योगिनीसिद्धसंदिव्यमुत्तरस्यां दिशि
स्थितम् ।। M.P (T) 2.37; and उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दपीठात ।
T.A.V., III, p.192). Really speaking Krama is called Uttaramnaya, because it arose in and spread out from Uttarpitha. This Pitha has escaped the notice of other Tantrik works. There is still another view which tends to identify Kashmir, indeed by implication, with ~~addition~~ Oddiyana. On this view, which banks on Sivananda's statement in the Rjuvimarsini and has been quoted by Mahesvarananda (M.M.P., p.193), Tripura and Krama both the systems would originate from one place. However, the spokesman of this view would seem to take Uttarapitha and Uddiyana as one.

cf. उड्डियानस्थानं चोत्तरस्यां दिशि कश्मीरसमीप एव वर्तते । साम्प्रतं स्वात नदी पश्चिमगंधारदेशे प्रवहति । सुवास्तुनदीद्रोणी प्राक्तनसमये औदायनी इतिकथ्यते स्म । तस्या एव उड्डियान इत्यपि नाम । ... एष च देशः कश्मीरसमीप एव स्थित इति कृत्वा शिवानन्देन सम्प्रदायस्य कश्मीरोद्भूतत्वात् इति चोक्तं स्यात् । त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिता आचार्याः कृतस्त्रव ,

Braj Vallabha Dwivedi, submitted to the 22nd session AIOC, Gauhati; also see अत्र ते कीर्तयिष्यामि वर्षं भारत भारतम् ।
S.S.6, 3-4, p.342.

1. तथैव योगिनीवक्त्रसंप्रदायक्रमाप्तया ।
विधूतकल्मषावेशा तिष्ठते चिन्मयी स्थितिः ।। M.V.V.2.94
ग्राह्यग्राहकसंबंधभेदः सपदि भिद्यते ।
योगिनीवक्त्रसंप्रदायक्रमाप्तया ।। Ibid. 2.97.

even afterwards.[1] Such a convention suits Krama more than anyother system. Because, as we are likely to see, the first recipients of the Krama wisdom were the female ascetics. Similarly, in one of mythical account of the system's origin, it is traced to Makāradevī. Even the famous twelve Kālikās are sometimes described as Yoginis.[2] In this connection liberty may be taken for hazarding a suggestion that Maheśvarānanda's story of divine inspiration from a female ascetic in a dream might be a left-over of this tradition. In the beginning the Krama system was intended to cater to the spiritual urges of all Stata of human society and hence it envisaged a scheme of graded emancipation. But, gradually, as the time passed, greater and greater secrecy came to shroud it and it did not, perhaps, allow common man the same easy access to it as he was accustomed to enjoy. It might be one of the factors, other than historical ones, that led the system to oblivion. Some statements amply testify to it.[3] One of possible causes of such a tendency might be ascribed to the general tantric practice of total reliance on one's preceptorial lineage. And, no doubt, only

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1. तदेतद् परमंगुह्यं योगिनीनां मुखे स्थितम् ।
मुखागमम्लानम्यादुद्घाट्य प्रतिपादितम् । M.P.(T), 7.168.

2. कालिकानां च योगिनीत्यनेन नाममात्र स्वायं भेदो न वस्तुनि इति ।
T.A.V.,II,p.236.

3. एवं महार्थस्वरूपं पारम्पर्येण पीठवरे गुप्तमस्ति इति समासादिह सूचितम् ।
M.P.(S).,p.48.

तदेतद् परमं गुह्यम् । M.P.(T),7.168.

a few could have been the worthy custodians of the schools' screts[1]. Likewise, the theory of Cakras was a logical deduction from reality being conceived as kinetic and continuous. The esteem in which the Anākhya or Saṁvit Cakras etc., are held is too well known to require elucidation. But still in Abhinava, the ritualistic significance is not so predominant. So much so that even the most characteristic theories of Vṛnda Cakra etc., are not traceable to Abhinava or to the Tantrāloka. But gradually the importance of the Cakras like many other aspects grew and the system came to be designated as the Cakra-krama-sampradāya[2], or the Navacakra-Sampradāya.[3] The Nava-cakras included the five functional cycles (i.e., Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti etc.,), three cycles of the optical trinity (Trinetra), i.e., Prakāśa, Ānanda and Mūrti and the Vṛnda Cakra. Similarly another esoteric

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1. गुरुवरमुखसम्प्रदायगम्यं । M.P.(T).4.17.
   मा(गा)ल्लुप्त)मिहेदृशं गुरुमुखं कालक्रमादित्यत: । Ibid.1.37
   परमरहस्या... गुरुवरमुखसम्प्रदायसद्बीजम् । Ibid.2.1.
   को पि गुरुमुखरहस्यक्रम उद्दीपित: । B.U.V.,p.28.
   सर्वे मुखसम्प्रदाया: । M.P.(S),p.64.
   इत्यस्माकं गुरुमुखम् । Ibid,p.140.
2. विचदार्णोर्यद्यपि सम्यगुक्तो महार्थचक्रक्रमसंप्रदाय: । M.P.(T).1.2.
   चक्रोल्लासविभागयुक्तिघटना सत्सम्प्रदायोज्ज्वल: । Ibid.1.35.
   अष्टाष्टचक्रं प्रविराजते तद् गुरुक्रमौघं ... । M.M.P.,p.86.
3. नवचक्रसंप्रदाय: सोऽयं महार्थ: । M.P.(S),p.15.
   नवचक्री विषय: संप्रदायोऽन्योन्यानुप्राणनेन प्रकाश्यते । Ibid.,p.137.

appellation of the system is found in the phrase "Ādyakṣara Saṁpradāya" (the school of the first letter).[1] In fact the Akāra (A) is deemed to be the most important part of the entire alphabet according to the esoteric symbolism. Akāra, accordingly, is said to have four crests and represents the first stage of manifestation and assumes the cosmic dimensions.[2] It is, however, gratifying to note that the Krama system, though in later stages advocating[3] the use of wine and woman etc., which constitute the Pañcatattva of the tantras, does not preach licentiousness. And a comparatively rarer reference has been made to this aspect. The Krama authors had to subscribe to it, because they aimed at complete self-control demonstrated not only through abstinence from but also through participation in the objects of enjoyments. But the fact remains that Abhinava does not take cognizance of these things, in his presentation of the Saṁviccakra and dwells on the spiritual bearing of the same through an analysis of epistemic experience. In contrast, Śivānanda is prone to

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1. अयमाद्यक्षरसम्प्रदायो यथागुरुमुखम् । M.P.(S),p.30.
   तत आद्यक्षरसंप्रदायः । Ibid, p.32.
2. इत्युक्तमथ अकार एव विश्वप्रसरस्यादिकोटिः स एव व्यापकत्वाद् विश्वम् । Ibid,p.30. Vide also अवर्णात्मा महामन्त्रो विश्वावरणतत्परः । M.P.(T).7.147.
3. Cf.M.P.(T).9.51. and M.M.P.,p.182.

incorporate the wine etc. in the context of Samviccakra (anākhyā cakra) marking out a diversion of emphasis from spiritual inquiry to mystic experimentalism. But **even here** this form of worship was prescribed only at a very advanced stage of spiritual development when the things that usually lure one away could create no mental digression.

5. EXPERIENCE, PURE AND SIMPLE: PIVOT OF THE TANTRIC THINKING OF KRAMA

The whole of the above discussion may perhaps be subsumed under one single doctrine that posits the realization of identity of the Individual Soul with the Universal Soul as a fundamental premise. Reality is conceived in terms of universal idea, or Experience pure and simple (Saṁvit). Experience (Saṁvit) and Reality (Sat, being) are essentially one. Hence the method preferred is not to bifurcate reality owing to the limitations of the dialectic and ratiocination in comprehending the whole of reality, but to experience, i.e., intuitively realize, the self (sat, being). Thus 'being' spells the content of 'experience' and 'experience' defines the nature and method of 'being'. In the typical Trika phraseology it is described as realization of Prakāśa through Vimarśa. In still other words self-realization is nothing but the realization of Prakāśa as being involved in the very nature of Vimarśa. Precisely the unity of the self and the Supreme Self (आत्मपरमात्मैक्यम्) is arrived at

through unity of the being (Prakāśa, Sat) and its inherent possibilities of becoming (Vimarśa, Śakti) (शक्तिरात्मनोरैक्यम्). This is the logic behind the most cherished method enjoined in terms of discovering the essential identity between the agenthood of the empirical subject and that of the Absolute (Pañcakṛtya-Pariśīlana). Hence the experience of self is not a simple act of knowing but a complex one of re-knowing (Pratyabhijñā). Since logic fails us in our hopes of attaining our alogical character, the intuitive realization turns out to be a process of mystic experiencing. It is why the mystic side of our self-experience has been so vehemently stressed[1]. Moreover, in the nature of things, a priori intuition leading us to the intrinsic self-experience is bound to be mystical both in and out. Hence the process of synthesis occasioning complete merger of the two polarities- subjective and objective - in one is equally bound to be mystic in character. Esoterics is therefore the natural methodology applied to realize the mystic ideal of self-experience,[2] former remaining

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1. भव्यानामनुभवनिष्ठसम्प्रदाय स्वानन्दामृतरसतृप्तमे स भूयात्।। M.P.(T).7.189
   आत्मज्ञानसमुपैतैरिति निर्जैर्भावानुभासात्मकैः
   संविन्मज्जनसारतामुपगतैः सृष्ट्यादिभिः पूजनैः । Ibid.8.30
2. इत्थमुत्थानविषये भावानुभवभूमिषु ।
   प्रत्यदाः सर्वजन्तूनां स्थितो (ऽसौ) पूजनक्रमः ।।
   अन्यैरावरकत्वेन ये भावाः परिवर्जिताः ।
   तैरेव ज्ञानिनामित्थं जाज्वलीति पराचितिः ।। Ibid.9.67-68.

always subservient to the latter. It is only when the true significance of intuitive realization is lost sight of due to ill and hastily developed spiritual personality of the aspirant, the esotericism becomes the rule of the day, the method and means replacing and discarding their very ideal.[1] A close study of the Tantras will demonstrate, why the Tantras give preference to what is called the inner worship (Antaryāga)[2] and to pure reflection (Bhāvanā), which in the Krama system synchonizes with the highest level of Sattarka, the principle of Right Logic. And the various rites in Krama worship will be found, as will be seen later, conducive to such a realization on the graduated scale.[3] This may be the only rationally possible implication of the process of the refinement of determinate ideality (Vikalpa-Saṁskāra), in the context of the tantric sub-structure of the system. Even the tantric worship aims at harmonizing the deity whom one worships

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1. इत्थं स्वानुभवं त्यक्त्वा ये संख्यामात्रप्रपूरणात् ।
यथाकथंचिच्चक्राणां ग्रन्थयाधारकलादिभिः ॥
वर्णक्रमान्त्यैरन्यैश्च प्रकारैरसमञ्जसैः ।
स्वरूपं बोधयन्त्युच्चैः(के?ते)ऽपि(न) ज्ञानशालिनः ॥ M.P.(T). 7.187-188.

2. पूजानाम न पुष्पाद्यैर्या मतिः क्रियते दृढा ।
निर्विकल्पे महाव्योम्नि सा पूजा ह्यादराल्लया ॥ Ibid. 8.4.

3. अत आत्मपरिज्ञाने सम्पन्ने निर्विकल्पकः ।
विकल्पवासनाविद्धः पूजनात्मा प्रवर्तते ॥ V.Bh.147.

and the macrocosm over which she presides. In this the Krama system joins Samayā school in discarding the external worship for the attainment of the self.[1]

Apart from the naturally dominant tendency towards mystic possibilities of self-experience, the other factor that contributed to the regularly swelling esoteric aspect of the system consists in its inter-action with the other tantric and āgamic forces of the day. In this connection one should also briefly consider its relation and attitude to some other systems of philosophy of non-āgamic origin. The next section is addressed to the study of this question as well.

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1. अन्तर्यागात्मिका पूजा सर्वपूजोत्तमा प्रिये ।
बहिः पूजा विधातव्या यावज्ज्ञानं न जायते ॥

Vāmakeśvarī Tantra (Chap. 51).

CHAPTER FOUR

MUTUAL EXCHANGE WITH AND IMPACT ON THE OTHER PHILOSOPHICAL AND TANTRIC SYSTEMS

(An enquiry into the sources of influences responsible for the rise and development of particular doctrines or esoteric tendencies in the Krama system.)

(66-88)

[Nature and scope of the proposed enquiry (66) - Krama versus Spanda with regard to the concepts of reality and fourfold absolutic functionalism (67) - Krama and Kula: Bilateral process of influence (70) - Krama and Tripurā: Reciprocal impact (73) - Impact of Buddhist tantricism on Krama: Ṣaḍaṅgayoga, Anākhyā and some other minor doctrines (77) - Bhartṛhari's impact on Krama (83) - Kashmir Śaivism and Pañcarātra: Certain unsettled issues(84)- Impact of Krama on Tantricism in general (87).]

1. NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE PROPOSED ENQUIRY

Under this head it is intended to concentrate upon an examination of the nature and extent of of the influence exercised by the other systems of thought on the Krama system and vice versa with special reference to the specific trends evinced by Krama, naturally excluding those ideas that subscribe to the general build-up of all the tantric systems. Thus, the admission of the Sāṁkhya scheme of tattvas to the thirty-six-category scheme of all the Śaiva and Śākta tantric systems, and the tantric transformation of the Sadṛṣa-pariṇāmavāda doctrine into the theory of Ābhāsa-vāda, etc., are ruled out from the present treatment. Similarly an analysis of the doctrinal Krama attitude towards the Veda and Vedic systems and their comparative validity is also excluded since it has been dealt with on a subsequent occasion.[1] The sole and ultimate purpose of the present treatment is to pick up and point out the source of influences that directly or indirectly inspired particular doctrines or esoteric tendencies in the system at issue without reducing it to what would look like a comparative estimate of the various systems.[2]

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1. Cf. Pt. II, Chap.I, Secs. 11-F and 11-F(I).

2. For further information Cf. Pt.II, Chap.I, Sec.6.

2. KRAMA VERSUS SPANDA WITH REGARD TO THE CONCEPTS OF REALITY AND FOURFOLD ABSOLUTIC FUNCTIONALISM

Let us begin with a glance at the immediate surroundings of the Krama system. The attention has already been invited to the fact that Krama was a Śaiva system with basically Śākta leanings. It becomes evident from the Krama accent on Śakti, the dynamic aspect of the Lord. Male Polarity i.e., the Lord. The word Spanda (from Spadi-- to throb, to palpite, to move slightly) is an exact counterpart in Saṁskṛta of the word 'dynamism' in English. The two commentators on the Spanda-kārikās, namely, Utpala-Vaiṣṇava and Kṣemarāja, are the first authors to discover the close correlation between the two systems with regard to their two particular theses. While explaining the first Kārikā[1] in his Nirṇaya Kṣemarāja takes the phrase "Svaśakti-cakravibhava-prabhavam" as representing the Krama or Mahārtha ideal of the five-fold absolutic functioning occasioned through the agency of the deities headed by Sṛṣṭi Kālī etc.[2] He further endorses his thesis by observing that the highest Mahārtha ideal is contained in the first and the last Kārikā of the Spanda-Kārikā[3]. The essence of

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1. यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयौ ।
तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवं शंकरं स्तुमः ॥ Sp.K.1.

2. ननु श्रीमन्महार्थदृष्ट्या सृष्ट्यादिदेवताभिरेव विचित्रा जगतः प्रलयोदयाः संपाद्यन्ते तत्कथमेतदुक्तं यस्येत्यादि, - इत्याशंक्याह तं शक्तिचक्रविभव-प्रभवम् । Sp.N.p.6.

3. एवं चोपक्रमोपसंहारयोर्महार्थसंपुटीकारं दर्शयन् तत्सारतया समस्तशांकरोपनिषन्-मूर्धन्यतामस्याविष्करोति शास्त्रस्य । Ibid,p.74.

the Spanda doctrine is best represented in the Mahārtha concept of the supreme reality that consists in realising the self as "powerful" (śaktimān) through unearthing real nature of his "powers" (śakti) by way of five acts. This view is reiterated in his Vimarśinī [1] on the Śiva-Sūtra 1.6[2]. Our other author Utpala Vaiṣṇava, who is more thoroughgoing a Spanda-vādin, suggests in his commentary on the fortyfourth Kārikā[3] that this Kārikā embodies the essence of Krama-teaching in enunciating the thesis that one develops a state of continuous realization of the principle of Spanda through one's recourse to various methods of self-reflection[4]. And on the forty-second Kārikā[5] he makes it absolutely certain that the Spanda concepts of Vindu, Nāda, Rūpa and Rasa are the exact Spanda correspondents of the four functions of the Absolute in the

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1. यया ... श्रीमत्सृष्ट्यादिशक्तिचक्रस्फारणात्मा क्रीडेयमादर्शिता । तस्यैतदा-
भासितास्य शक्तिचक्रस्य रहस्याम्नायाम्नातनीत्या यत्संधानं यथोचितक्रमविमर्शनम्..।
एतदेव 'यस्योन्मेषानिमेषाभ्यां'..(Sp.K.1) इति 'यदा त्वेकत्र संरूढः'
(Sp.K.49) इति च प्रथमचरमश्लोकाभ्यां संगृहीतम् ।
S.S.Vi., pp.21-23.
2. शक्तिचक्रसन्धाने विश्वसंहारः ।
3. प्रबुद्धः सर्वदा तिष्ठेज्ज्ञानेनालोक्य गोचरम् ।
एकत्रारोपयेत्सर्वं ततोऽन्येन न पीड्यते ।। Sp.P., pp.49-50.
4. एतत्क्रमार्थसारं परधाराभूमिका च शक्तीनाम् ।
6. एष एवातिरहस्यक्रमार्थविदाम् उद्योगावभासचर्वणा-विलापनरूपः क्रमचतुष्को
क्रमोऽत्रैव युक्त्यैवोक्तः ।। Ibid., p.48.

Krama system.[1]

Now it is difficult to categorically assert which of the either school is indebted to which, yet a few remarks may tentatively be made. Despite the fact that both the schools are wedded to the doctrine of dynamic absolutism, the Krama appears to pursue it with more vigour. Hence, the Spanda system might be indebted to the Krama system for these ideas. Reasons for hazarding such a guess are as under :-

(i) Krama, being the earliest monistic Śaiva system of Kashmir, is earlier than Spanda also.

(ii) The supremacy of the Absolute vis-à-vis the same of the Absolutic Dynamism, i.e., Śakti or Kālī is a matter of controversy in view of the fundamental role assumed by the latter in the Krama system, whereas the ultimacy of the Absolute has never been questioned in the Spanda with all its accent on the dynamic aspect, i.e., Spanda, that is Śakti.

(iii) The first two verses, unlike Kṣemarāja, are not interpreted in the light of the Krama system by the other Spanda authors notably Rāmakaṇṭha indicating

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1. अतो विन्दुरतो नादो रूपमस्मादतो रसः ।
प्रवर्ततेऽचिरेणैव क्षोभकत्वेन देहिनः ॥
Also see Pt.II, Chap.I, Sec. 12-A. under the heading "The Discovery of One's potencies as a means to self-discovery".

lack of agreed acknowledgement of [unanimity with regard to the] the Krama impact on the Spanda.

(iv) The fortysecond and fortyfourth Kārikās have not been accorded with the Krama interpretation by Kṣemarāja unlike Utpala Vaiṣṇava indicating the same as in (iii) above.

(v) Yet, both the sub-schools of the Spanda system -- the one headed by Kṣemarāja and the other by Utpala-- recognize the element of the Krama theses as latent in the Spanda dicta.

3. KRAMA AND KULA : BILATERAL PROCESS OF INFLUENCE

Coming to the Kula system one finds that the process of influence has gone on a bilateral scale. It has been noted earlier that the Krama system, under the spell of its maintaining a parity between affirmation and negation both, adopts a completely indifferent attitude towards rituals like phallus-worship, the putting on of the matted hair and sacred ashes on the body, observance of religious vows, worship of deities, and the spiritual efficacy of Kṣetra (stations) as well as Pīṭhas[1] (seat). Such an attitude comes in sharp

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1. क्षेत्रं मेलापस्थानं पीठं कामरूपादि, उपपीठं देवीकोट्टादि ।...
इह पुनरेतदुभयमपि नास्तीति । T.A.V.,III,pp.290-91.
For details see Pt.II,Chap.I, Sec. 11-F(I).

contrast to that of the Siddhānta and Kula systems with their enjoining and prohibiting these respectively. However, with regard to the phenomenon of Pīṭha etc., Kula does not prohibit but advocates them, while they stand negated by the Mata system. Likewise, while Kula prescribes Samayācāra[1] and worship of Ovallis, Mudrā, Chummā etc., the Mata Śāstra prohibits the same. And Krama, as usual, does not bother itself.[2] But this equilibrium of mind and posture of neutrality is not maintained for long. The Pīṭha, rituals, Ovallis, Ghara, Pallis etc. are injected into the system under the Kula influence and we come to know of a few Ovallis at least, namely, Mahānanda[3] and Kulāraṇi[4] in the Krama. Similarly the line of teachers under Kula system including Yuga-nāthas and Rājaputras, which initially did not find favour with Krama, later became acceptable inasmuch as their worship was advocated in Sthiti-cakra. This question has

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1. The discrimination between what one ought to do and what one ought not is the essence of the Samayācāra- इदं कुर्यादिदं न कुर्याद् इत्येवमात्मा समयाचारः । T.A.V., III, p.292.
2. T.A. 4.258-269.
3. अस्मिन्नुत्तरघोरवल्लिविशेषरूपे महानन्दव्यपदेश्ये । M.P.(S), p.42.
4. कुलस्य ओवल्लीविशेषस्य ... । Ibid, p.107; also see M.M.P., p.1.

been discussed at its proper place subsequently.[1] Even in later history we do hear a few discordant notes,[2] but once an influence has interpolated itself it is difficult to pull it out. These later developments took place in the wake of the Kula system, because there came a stage when the Kula was thought to be superior to the Krama system. One has already seen that Abhinava himself elevates the Kula-prakriyā as compared with the Tantra-Prakiryā[3]. The process was logically extended to the point when Kula came to be acknowledged as constituting the crowning point of the Krama ideology[4] and even the Krama works were referred to as the Kula texts.[5] A natural outcome of such a tendency was that the Krama authors were gradually led to imbibe and import all those Kula theses that could be fitted in the Krama plan.

But, at the same time, the Kula system also could not remain immune from the impact coming from the opposite

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1. Cf.Pt.II,Chap.III, Sec.4. under "Sthiti cakra".
2. M.P.(S)., pp.107-8.
3. कुलप्रक्रियायाः प्रक्रियान्तरेभ्यः प्राधान्यात् । T.A.V.,I,p.24.
4. अपितु कुलसपर्याबिम्बसंबंधवन्ध्याः M.M.P.,p.2.
सकृदपि मतिमन्तो नैनमुद्घाटयन्तु ।
5. एतद् वितत्यैव विख्यातैः क्रमकैः कुलागमे । Ibid,p.190.
तद्वदस्यापि ग्राह्या व्याख्या परिमलाह्वया ॥
अस्यामर्थस्थितिः सैव या सर्वत्र कुलागमे ।
किन्तु शब्दस्य शय्यान्या नात्यर्थं सा विभिद्यते । Ibid,p.199.

direction, i.e., Krama. The most important exchange took place with regard to the theory of the twelve Kālīs or Saṁviddevīs constituting the power-cycle (Śakti-cakra).[1] This process did not remain confined to the Kula system alone but infected other systems as well, the Sāra system in particular.[2] As a natural corollary, the Anākhya-krama also made its way into the Kula fold.[3]

4. KRAMA AND TRIPURĀ : RECIPROCAL IMPACT

The other cognate creed, that seems to have shaped and inspired quite a few theses of Krama is the Tripurā system despite its not being a Śaiva ideology. Krama owing to its temperamental attachment to the Śakti is rather soft to Tripurā, a Śākta system. Śitikaṇṭha is most alive to

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1. क्रमनयसोदरतामस्य दर्शनस्य आवेदयति । T.A.V., III, p.157.
2. न केवलमेताः क्रमदर्शनादावेवोक्ता यावदस्मन्नयसहोदरेषु शास्त्रेष्वपीत्याह...
   तद्दनुराद्यामर्शरूपत्वमप्यासां संविदां श्री त्रिकसार एव भूयाभिहितम् ।
   T.A.V., II, pp.235-36.
3. यथैवासां द्वादशानामपि संविदामनाख्यक्रमे रूपं प्रविभक्तं तथैव सृष्ट्यादिक्रमेष्वपि
   इति समुच्चितत्वमभिधातुं तदुपाधित्रयात्यय इत्युपात्तम् ।

Ibid, p.238.

this influence when he defines the scope of Mahārtha as ranging from the Pīṭha (Spiritual seat) to the Samaya-vidyā, i.e., Tripurā philosophy.[1] But for its Śaiva associations, Krama is certainly a Śākta system. He says that the Samaya-vidyā is one because it marks the summit of all Krama achievement and the total variety of the Kramas is finally reposed here.[2] Hence he describes Anākhyā and Bhāsā as Anākhyā-Samayeśvarī and Bhāsā-Samayeśvarī.[3] Similarly, Vṛnda-cakra, which according to Maheśvarānanda is the most important single aspect of the Krama system[4] is introduced by him as Śrī-cakra,[5] an equally valued part of Tripurā. There is some evidence to show that the concept of Vṛnda-cakra was not completely unknown to the Tripurā authors. The anonymous commentary on the <u>Kāmakalā-vilāsa</u> (Kashmir edition) of Puṇyānanda refers to two types of Vṛnda-cakra, viz., Pada-vikṣepa and Kramodaya.[6] The former represents the

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1. वस्तुतस्तु पीठचक्रादारभ्य समयविद्यान्तं समेन साम्राज्येन महार्थं स्व
   वक्ष्यमाणवत वोभवीति इति भाव्यतां । M.P.(S),p.56.

2. Ibid,p.126.

3. Ibid,p.128.

4. किंच, श्रीमन्महार्थक्रमप्रपंचः सर्वोऽपि वृन्दचक्रे विश्राम्यति । M.M.P.,p.194.

5. अथ श्रीचक्रं क्रमेण उन्मुद्रयिष्यन्नादौ .... । Ibid,p.87.

6. क्रमणं पदविक्षेपः क्रमोदयस्तेन कथ्यते द्वेधा । K.K.V.35(K.S.S.)
   ... एतद् वृन्दचक्रद्वयं विवृणोतीति । Ibid,comm.,p.38.

Absolutic capacity for infinite possibilities of self-becoming and the latter with the traditional history. It is our impression that while Śrī-cakra may be held responsible for the very inspiration of Vṛnda-cakra, the notion of Vṛnda-cakra is an export from the Krama into Tripurā. Because in early stages we do not have any record of Vṛnda in Krama, Vṛnda being a later development. But on the other hand, Śrīcakra starts from the initial stages of the Tripurā history. Tripurā, the highest ideal of the Tripurā system, is sought to be identified with Kālā-Saṁkarṣiṇī[1] - the ultimate in the Krama. As has been said earlier, Jayaratha leaves no doubt about the Tripurā's identity with the Kula system.[2] If such contention be accepted without reservation, the Kula and, for that matter, the Tripurā might be said to have exercised tremendous influence on the Krama.

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1. पराहंपरामर्शचमत्कारमयी शक्तिरेव अस्मद्दर्शने विश्रान्तिधामतया स्पष्टव्या यैव स्पन्दस्फुरत्तासारोर्मिहृदयसद्भावसंकर्षिणीत्रिपुरादिशब्दैस्तत्र तत्र सर्वत्र उद्घोष्यते । V.M.V., p.103.

2. अनेनैव आशयेन भवद्भिरपि
ऊर्मिरिति भोगिनीत्यपि कुब्जेति कुलेश्वरीति जगदुर्याम् ।
श्रीकालकर्षिणीत्यपि कुण्डलिनीत्यपि च नौमि तां देवीम् ।। [इत्यादि उक्तम् ।
तत्सर्वत्रैव साक्षात्कुलशास्त्रतया व्यपदिष्टेऽमुष्मिन् परमोपादेये शास्त्रे किमेवं-
विधाया व्याप्तेरनानुगुण्यं यद्वार्तामात्रेणापि न स्पृष्टम् ।

Ibid, p.28.

But Tripurā has received also in return. Anākhyā, the fourth act of the absolute-and also Reality as such according to the four-function theory[1] (Krama catuṣka) of the Krama system-, is probably borrowed from the latter.[2] Jayaratha also suggests that Krama advocated Sṛṣṭi-cakra and Saṁhāra-cakra as independent from each other. Tripurā borrowed and employed this doctrine with regard to the other theories of the system. For instance, the eighth and ninth cakras in Tripurā are also independent cakras.[3] This phenomenon is equally discernible in certain other spheres as well. The concept of Sattarka, for instance, seems to have been borrowed by the Tripurā system from the Krama despite the fact that at both the places it is brought forth as an āgamic notion[4]. Likewise, the unusual fondness of Krama for Prākṛta languages is a legacy from Tripurā. Maheśvarānanda's citing a statement from Rjuvimarśinī, a Tripurā text, in support of Krama's explicit preference for Prākṛta, would probably indicate the truth of this statement.[5]

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1. सृष्ट्यादिक्रमचतुष्टयोचितमेव अभिधानम् इति । V.M.V.,p.27.

2. व्यष्टिसमष्टिविभेदादस्याः चत्वारि बीजानि ।
सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारानाख्यरूपाणि भावनीयानि ॥ वरिवस्या-रहस्य १.३२
अनाख्या तिरोधानानुग्रहयोः समष्टिः, कृत्यपंचकेष्वप्यौदासीन्यावलम्बन-रूपावस्थानविशेषो वा । Prakāśa by Bhāskara Rāya on the above, p.23. Vide also
सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारानाख्यरूपतया चक्रशब्दव्यपदेश्यम् ... अतएव .. स्वभित्तौ
... अनतिरिक्तानि अपि अतिरिक्तायमानानि उद्भासयन्ती निरुपाख्यपरसंविन्मात्र-सतत्त्वा महात्रिपुरसुन्दरीशब्दव्यपदेश्या या त्रिपुरा तत्प्रकृतिकम् ... ।
V.M.V.,p.26.

3. तदेवमष्टमनवमयोरपि चक्रयोः श्रीदेवीपंचशतिके सृष्टिसंहारचक्रयोरिव स्वैकविधेति न कश्चिद् विरोधः । Ibid,p.71.

4. Cf.Pt.II,Chap.I,Sec.11-B.

5. Cf.Pt.I,Chap.I, Sec.3-F.

5. IMPACT OF BUDDHIST TANTRICISM ON KRAMA : ṢAḌAṄGA-YOGA, ANĀKHYĀ AND SOME OTHER MINOR DOCTRINES

The introduction of the Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga (six-limbed yoga) in place of Patañjali's Aṣṭāṅga (eight-fold) yoga marks a curious departure from the general trend in the history of the Krama thought and has evaded a satisfactory answer so far. Because each of the monistic Śaiva doctrines of Kashmir abides by the Pātañjala discipline of the eight-fold path. Even Abhinavagupta, who is interpreted by Jayaratha as subscribing to the theory of Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga, does not, in fact, expressly commit himself to the said thesis. From a close study of him it will be found that he actually dwells on the eight-fold yogic discipline. This incongruity is explained by Jayaratha in terms of Abhinava's implicit motive. According to Jayaratha, Abhinava wants to suggest that the number of parts as eight of the Yoga, is, in any case, final and cannot be enhanced further.[1] Abhinava actually supplants Sattarka for the highest stage of the Krama process of yoga and castigates the first five items as futile by virtue of their being external and adventitious in character. It is

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1. यन्नाम अत्र योगस्य स्वदर्शनोक्तानि षडंगान्यपहाय पातंजलीयं यमाद्यष्टांगा-
ष्टकम् उक्तम्, तत्रायमाशयो - यत् क्वचिदपि स्तदंगाष्टकातिरिक्तम्
अन्यदंगान्तरं नास्ति ।

T.A.V., III, pp.102-103.

Jayaratha who cites a verse in order to describe the six-limbed doctrine from an unnamed source.[1] The extract in question eliminates the first three parts namely, Yama, Niyama and Āsana, from the original eightfold scheme[2] and adds Tarka or Sattarka, thus bringing the total to six. It is queer that he nowhere attempts to define the six members of the scheme individually; instead, all the definitions are drawn verbatim from the Yoga-Sūtras of Patañjali. In such a quaint configuration of circumstances one is prone to believe that the doctrine of six-limbed Yoga was an interpolation which may possibly be traced to the Tantric Buddhism. In the Śrī-guhya-samājatantra (Chap.XVIII) the Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga has been painted as the most conducive means to the highest accomplishment.[3] The detailed description of these six parts of yoga has again been fully enlarged upon in the commentary called Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā by Nāḍopada.[4] It is worth mentioning that the first three Aṅgas of yoga mentioned in

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1. प्राणायामस्तथा ध्यानं प्रत्याहारोऽथ धारणा।
   तर्कश्चैव समाधिश्च षडंगो योग उच्यते ॥ T.A.V., III., p.15.
2. यम-नियम-आसन-प्राणायाम-प्रत्याहार-धारणा-ध्यान-समाधयोऽष्टावंगानि। Y.S.2.29.
3. सेवा षाडंगयोगेन कृत्वा साधनमुत्तमम् ।
   साधयेदन्यथा नैव जायते सिद्धिरुत्तमा ॥ Guhya-samāja, p.163.
4. See for detailed treatment, An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, pp.164-171.

the Yoga-Sūtra, viz., Yama, Niyama and Āsana, are omitted and a new one, Anusmṛti, is added.[1] One may notice the marked similarity between the Krama and Bauddha treatment of the problem. Except the additional aspect, i.e., Tarka or Anusmṛti, in their respective presentations there is virtually no difference. And one may even be tempted to go so far as to say that Jayaratha has borrowed verbatim from the Guhya-samāja only substituting the phrase "Tarkaścaiva" for "Anusmṛtiḥ".[2] The possibility of the Guhya-samāja being indebted to Krama is very slender, because (i) the Guhya-samāja, according to its editor, Dr. B.Bhattacharya[3] dates back to the fourth century A.D.; (ii) the first and only reference to the doctrine in the Krama works is as late as the beginning of the 13th century to which Jayaratha is assigned; (iii) even if the doctrine had the approval of Abhinava, it does not go beyond the 10th century which is the time of Abhinava; (iv) the thesis has not been developed in its full dimensions in the Krama works whereas the Bauddha

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1. प्रत्याहारस्तथा ध्यानं प्राणायामोऽथ धारणा ।
   अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च षडङ्गो योग उच्यते ।   Guhya-samaja, p.173.

2. Compare
   तर्कश्चैव समाधिश्च षडङ्गो योग उच्यते ।   T.A.V., III., p.115.
   with अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च षडङ्गो योग उच्यते ।
   Guhya-samāja, p.163.

3. Cf. Introduction to Sādhana-mālā, II, p.XCV.

works, referred to above, have built up a complete system of esoteric yoga containing six-limbed discipline. The only doubtful line that demarcates the two schools is the place of Sattarka and Anusmṛti in their respective schemes. In the verse cited above Jayaratha follows the original order of the <u>Guhya-samāja</u> which places Anusmṛti just before Samādhi. In this way Tarka should also precede Samādhi. But from a critical perusal of Jayaratha, it will be discovered that Jayaratha and Abhinava both regard Tarka as the best and highest part of Yoga and treat all other parts as subordinate to Sattarka, which alone is the direct means of self-realization.[1] The other difference of detail consists in the concepts of Anusmṛti[2] and Sattarka[3]. Anusmṛti is the remembrance of the realisation of previous stages, while Tarka is the pure knowledge that can discern the spiritually

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1. तथापि हेयाद्यालोचनात् असौ उत्तममन्तरंगं योगस्यांगम्.. । T.A.V.,III,p.15.

   Vide also योगांगता यमादेस्तु समाध्यन्तस्य वर्ण्यते ।

   स्वपूर्वपूर्वोपायत्वादन्त्यतर्कोपयोगतः ॥ T.A.4.96.

2. स्थिरं तु वज्रमार्गेण स्फारयति स्वधातुषु ।

   विभाव्य यदनुस्मृत्या तदाकारं तु संस्मरेत् ।

   अनुस्मृतिरिति ज्ञेया प्रतिभासोऽत्र जायते ॥ Guhya-samāja.p.164.

3. द्वैतशंकाश्च तर्केण तर्क्यन्त इति वर्णितम् । T.A.4.105.

meaningful from what is spiritually spurious. Moreover, the other five concepts of the Ṣaḍaṅga yoga in Buddhism have an independent character whereas in Krama they seek an anchorage in Patañjali. Buddhist tantricism apart, the philosophical Buddhism too seems to have exercised notable influence on the vital Krama dicta.

Refinement of determinacy (Vikalpa-Saṁskāra), for example, evinces considerable impact of the Buddhist law of contradistinction (Apohana) and theory of instantaneous being (Kṣaṇikavāda). This question has been considered, in the sequel separately.[1] The enormous influence exercised by Buddhism is also evinced by the Krama doctrine of Anākhyā. The term Anākhyā, standing for a coveted stage of self-accomplishment, is possibly a positive Krama interpretation of the wholesale nihilism (Śūnyatā-vāda) of the Mādhyamikas.[2] In fact, the twin notions of the Śūnyatā are mutually different owing to their positive and negative character respectively. But what is important here, is to note the inspirational value of

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1. Cf. Pt. II, Chap. I, Sec. 11-A(I).

2. शून्यताभिमानिनो माध्यमिकाश्च अनाख्याकल्पायामिव स्वात्ममात्रस्फुरत्ता-लक्षणमात्मतत्त्वमाहुः । M.M.P., p. 11.

".... शून्यात्मा शून्यवादिनाम् । ... स एव च महार्थात्मा महार्थिकमनीषिणाम् । Ibid, p. 14.

the Śūnyatā-doctrine in so far as the concept of Anākhyā is concerned. The ultimate reality being free from temporal and spatial affiliations is beyond the reach of words and hence, is inscrutable. This is the precise implication of the word Anākhyā[1]. The Śūnyatā-doctrine, which is based on the original Buddhist maxim, i.e., "all is void" (Sarvam Śūnyam), was not adopted from the Mahāyānic philosophers direct but through the esoteric Buddhists who tried to give it a positive accent instead of its all-devouring nihilistic thesis pleading the essenselessness and sheer absurdity of the universe of our discourse. Thus, of the four gradations in the Śūnyatā doctrine suggested by Nāgārjuna in his <u>Pañca-krama</u> the final one, viz., Sarva-śūnya, is identified with supreme omniscience. This is the ultimate truth, the unity that transcends the scope of verbal expression. From its absolute self-luminous purity proceeds the Enlightened One (Buddha).[2] Thus the Anākhyā doctrine is much nearer to

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1. दिक्कालकलनोन्मुक्ता देशोद्देशाविशेषिणी ।
   व्यपदेष्टुमशक्यासावकथ्या परमार्थतः ॥ V.Bh.14.

   Also see Pt.II, Chap.3, secs. I and 6.

2. शून्यत्रयविशुद्धिर्या प्रभास्वरम् इहोच्यते ॥
   सर्वशून्यपदं च तच्च ज्ञानत्रयविशुद्धितः ।
   ज्ञानशुद्धिपदं तच्च तत्त्वं सर्वज्ञत्वमनुत्तरम् ॥
   निर्विकारं निराभासं निर्द्वन्द्वं परमं शिवम् ।
   अस्तीति न च नास्तीति न च तद्वाक्यगोचरम् ॥
   अतः प्रभास्वरात् शुद्धात् ज्ञानत्रयसमुद्भवः ।
   द्वात्रिंशल्लक्षणधरो ह्यस्तीति व्यञ्जनान्वितः ।
   सर्वाकारवरोपेतः सर्वज्ञो जायते ततः ॥ Pañca-krama, M.S. pp.22(B), 23(A), quoted by Dasgupta, An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, p.46.

the Śūnyatā-doctrine of the esoteric Buddhism.[1] But the same is poles apart from that of the philosophical Śūnyavāda of the Mādhyamika. Śivopādhyāya, in fact, has noted this difference.[2]

6. BHARTṚHARI'S IMPACT ON KRAMA

Yet another single source that must be credited with supplying the bulk of the sub-structural material of the Krama system is met in Bhartṛhari. His is the unique contribution. Because, the basic pattern of the process of the Vikalpa-saṁskāra has been largely determined by that of his Śabda-saṁskāra and Śabda-pūrva-yoga.[3] Moreover Kālī, the absolute and ultimate principle as conceived by Krama, is by and large the Krama transformation of Bhartṛhari's idea of the Kāla-Śakti or Krama-Śakti.[4] Similarly, the fourfold or five-fold theory of speech in the Krama system shows the

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1. इतिक्रमस्तोत्रसंवादाद ....
   एषैव भगवती निरावरणरूपा प्रज्ञापारमिता ...... शून्यभूमिः ....
   परमशिवत्वेन उपदिष्टा ।
   V.Bh.V.,p.141.

2. तेन सुगतसुतभाविता शून्यभूरन्या, देवीनयोपासिनां च अन्या । Ibid.p.110.
   For fear of irrelevance further reference to their differences has not been embarked upon. However, for further details about the basic differences between esoteric Buddhism and Kashmir Śaivism see Sp.N., pp.26-28.

3. Cf.Pt.II, Chap.I, Sec.11-A(II)

4. Cf.ibid, Chap.2, Secs. 3-A and 3-C.

unmistakeable signs of having been developed under the spell of Bhartṛhari's theory of Śabda-brahman or Vāk with its inherently emergent character.[1] All these have been discussed in their proper contexts.

7. KASHMIR ŚAIVISM AND PĀÑCARĀTRA : CERTAIN UNSETTLED ISSUES

Let us advert to a slightly different issue. We know of one more āgamic system, that is, Pāñca-rātra system. It is yet one of the big question marks of the history of Indian thought as to what was the exact necus between the Kashmir Śaivism and the Pāñca-rātra. We find Pāñcarātra bracketed with Buddhists etc., for the purpose of critism in the Śaiva works[2]. They are assigned to the realm of Avyakta, i.e., Prakṛti, in the Śaiva scheme.[3] Similarly the Pāñcarātras have been grouped into two classes, e.g., Saṁkarṣaṇa Pāñcarātra and Saṁhitā-pāñcarātra.[4] These references go to indicate that the Kashmir Śaivism was fully familiar with the Pāñcarātra doctrine, whatever be the cause of such

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1. Cf. Pt.II, Chap.7, Secs. 9-B and 10.
2. T.A. 4.22, 26, 29; M.V.T. 3.5; V.Bh.V., p. 117; Sp.N.p.14.
3. इति पांचरात्रा: परस्या प्रकृते: परिणामाभ्युपगमाद अव्यक्ते एव अभिनिविष्टा: । Pr.Hṛ., p.55.
4. अंत:करणचैतसिका: संकर्षणपांचरात्रिका: । Nareśvara-Parīkṣā, K.S.S., p.87.
   परिणतिवेदान्तविद: संहिता-पांचरात्रा: । Ibid, p.91.

familiarity. What is more remarkable is to find signs which suggest, though do not define, that some sort of relation and exchange did subsist between the two. In support, an appeal may be made to the extracts cited from the Pāñcarātra works. Thus Utpalavaiṣṇava quotes from the Jayākhya Saṁhitā with approval[1] and Maheśvarānanda from the Lakṣmī-tantra[2]. Yogarāja, too, quotes from the Lakṣmī-Saṁhitā.[3] On the other end, Yāmunācārya, in his famous work Āgama-prāmāṇya speaks of his another work known as Kashmirāgama-prāmāṇya which probably dealth with validity of the Kashmir āgamas.[4] In this connection it is interesting to note that Maheśvarānanda quotes from one Rahasyāmnāya.[5] This work has also been alluded to by Naṭanānandanātha in his commentary Cidvallī[6] on the Kāma-kalā-vilāsa. In the Pāñca-rātra tradition, the Rahasyāmnāya is identified with the Ekāyana-veda[7]. According to Vedānta Deśika the central theme of the Kāshmīrāgama-prāmāṇya has been to expound and establish the impersonal

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1. अन्यच्च जयाख्यसंहितायाम् । Sp.P.,p.9.

2. M.M.P.,pp.67,182.

3. P.S.V.,p.164.

4. Cf.Fn. 2
also see, Lakṣmī Tantra, Int., ed.V.Krishnamacharya,p.5.

5. M.M.P.p.182.

6. pp.19-20, 21,42,55,68 (Madras edn.)

7. आद्यमेकायनं वेदं रहस्याम्नायसंज्ञितम् । Īśvara-Saṁhitā.21.531.

origin of the *Ekāyana-veda.*[1] Pt. V.Krishnamacarya, the editor of the Adyar edition of the *Lakṣmītantra*, is of the view that the alleged extracts from the *Pañcarātra-Śruti* and *Pañcarātra-upaniṣad* etc., in the *Spanda-Pradīpikā* by Utpala Vaiṣṇava are most probably taken from the *Ekāyana Veda*, that is, *Rahasyāmnāya*[2]. It is unfortunate that the text of the *Rahasyāmnāya* is now lost to us. It is very difficult to assert that the two *Rahasyāmnāyas* (one in the system and other in the Pañca-rātra) are one. Because the extracts ascribed to the *Rahasyāmnāya* in the Śaiva works are more of esoteric nature and the pattern suggested is that of an āgamic treatise. It is, therefore, fraught with serious obstacles to the precise relationship between the Kashmir Śaivism and the Pañcarātra. Yet the fact remains that the two were closely related and even influenced each other. It is a pity that we can neither determine the nature nor guage the intensity of mutual influence, if any.

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1. यथा चैकायनशाखाया अपौरुषेयत्वं, तथा काश्मीरागमप्रामाण्य
   एवं प्रपंचितमिति नेह प्रस्तूयते ।

   Pañcarātra-rakṣā, Vedāntadeśika-granthamālā, ed. Annangaracarya, p.95. This statement is repeated by Vedānta Deśika in the Nyāya-Pariśuddhi, p.168 (2nd Āhnika, Śabdādhyāya).

2. Lakṣmī Tantra, Introduction, p.5

8. IMPACT OF KRAMA ON TANTRICISM IN GENERAL

Before this study is closed, care should be taken to see that an important point may not go unnoticed. It has been noted how the Krama system developed a composite personality under varying influences. An account of the spheres, where the impact of Krama on other systems is discernible, has also been taken. In this connection it may be added that the biggest contribution made by Krama to the history of tantric thought is met with the emergence of various Krama-creeds within the fold of cognate tantric doctrines. Thus the Tripurā and many other Śākta systems have evolved their own code of Krama. Even the Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava tantricism has gone ahead with evolving its own Krama-doctrine. In fact all branches and schools of Indian tantricism whether they be Śākta, Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava- have embraced the Krama-idea by heart and given vent to it both ritually and spiritually. The large number of Krama texts such as the Krama-stuti[1] of Śaṁkara, Krama Dīpikā of Keśava Bhaṭṭa[2]

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1. Vide, Saubhāgyavardhinī by Kaivalyāśrama on the Ānanda-laharī, pp.12, 45., The same on Saundarya-laharī, p.36.

2. vide Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Punjab University Library, Vol. I, 1932., Sec.viii, sl.no.47.

Kramottama[1], Krama-ratna[2], Krama-ratnamālā[3], Krama-saṁgraha[4], Krama-sandhāna[5], Krama-mālikā[6], Śrī-krama-Saṁhitā[7], and Krama-vāsanā[8] etc., add weight to the above contention.

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1. vide Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Punjab University Library, Vol. I, 1932, No. 48; also Cat. Cat., p. 132.

2-5. vide Cat. Cat., p.132.

6. vide Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Library, Mysore, p.3.

7. vide Cat. Cat., p.668.

8. vide M.M.P., pp.115, 117.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIFFERENT TRADITIONS AND SUB-SCHOOLS

(A critical evaluation of the potential richness of the Krama system evinced through the divergent trends of internal thinking in respect of the basic issues and resulting consequences.)

(89-109)

[Potential richness of the Krama system (89) - The Sāhasa sub-school (89) - The Chummā sub-school (93) - Sāhasa and Chummā are identical (96) - Another sub-school of Krama (97) - Divergent traditions and tendencies with regard to the specific problems (99) - Two traditions regarding the nature and status of the Absolute and its consequences (99) - These two traditions vis-á-vis pentadic and quartic tendencies with special reference to the absolutic functioning (102) - Quartic tendency (103) - Pentadic tendency (104) - Dispute about the exact number of parts of the Krama Yoga (106) - Several minor controversies referred to (107) - Source of the quartic and pentadic tendencies (108).]

1. POTENTIAL RICHNESS OF THE KRAMA SYSTEM

The value of a philosophical system is determined by its capacity to excite divergent and manifold ways of reacting to the presented data or stimuli. If a system, within its confines, can inspire many a mode of looking at the problems posed to or by it, without affecting its consistency adversely, its vitality and richness would require no further testimony. Judging on this criterion the Krama would emerge as a potentially creative and substantially rich system. The contention turns into a conviction when a keen eye discovers not only the presence of different traditions, but also the rise of a few sub-schools inside the Krama-fold. This enquiry, therefore, is directed to examining the identity of such schools and nature of the differing traditions.

In the Kashmir Śaivism one encounters two texts namely, the *Vātūla-nātha-sūtrāṇi* and the *Chummā-Saṁpradāya* ascribed to two sub-schools, namely, the Sāhasa-school and the Chummā-school. It may, however, be held that these two schools positively belong to the Krama system. Let us see how and why.

2. THE SĀHASA SUB-SCHOOL

With regard to the *Vātūla-nātha-sūtrāṇi* it is explicitly averred that its main theme is to propound that one's ~~the~~ real nature is acquired by the firm stay in the pre-eminent

Sāhasa.[1] Hence, the commentator Ananta Śakti-pāda styles the system at issue as Mahā-sāhasa-carcā-sampradāya.[2] (i.e., the school dealing with the great ~~forceful event~~ Sāhasa) In his enthusiasm to focus the attention on the individuality of the system he offers his benedictory salutation to the principle of Sāhasa.[3]

Sāhasa literally means an unexpected or forceful happening. It, therefore, stands, from the Śaivistic point of view, for the highest state of inspiration or self-revelation which needs no preliminary preparation and which is said often to take place under the shadow of extremely intense bestowal of the divine grace. It transcends deterministic order and is a purely indeterminate state of self- intuiting awareness.[4]

The notion of Sāhasa as underlining the sudden and forceful self-realization has never been unknown to the Kashmir Śaivism.

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1. महासाहसवृत्त्या स्वरूपलाभः । Sūtra 1.

2. ... महासाहसचर्चासंप्रदायं निरूप्य... । V.N.S.V.,p.3.

3. तन्नौमि साहसवरं गुरुवक्त्रगम्यम् । V.N.S.V.,p.1, verse 1.

4. अतितीव्रातितीव्रतरविश्रृंखलशक्तिपाताघ्रातस्य स्वस्वरूपसमाविष्टस्य कस्यचित् क्वचित् कदाचित् अकस्मादेव महासाहसवृत्त्या .. निरावरणमहाशून्यता-समावेशनिष्ठया स्वरूपलाभः ... भवति इति रहस्यार्थः ।

Ibid,p.2.

The concepts of Haṭhapāka and Alamgrāsa owe their being to the principle of Sāhasa.[1] Likewise, it may also be noted that one of the eight approaches to the Vṛnda cakra is spelt by Mudrā-krama which ~~carries~~ subsumes five Mudrās under it to ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ which will be discussed subsequently[2]. Of these five Mudrās Khecarī is deemed to be the highest and belongs to the realm of Śāmbhava-siddhas. All other Mudrās are derived from Khecarī, the primal Mudrā[3]. Ananta Śaktipāda presents the Khecarī-dṛṣṭi as the most cardinal tenet of the Sāhasa-school.[4] This view, on a close scrutiny, will be found to have been anticipated by Abhinava who ~~xx~~ in the 32nd Āhnika of the Tantrāloka, which is devoted to the exclusive treatment of Mudrās, cites from the Bhargaśikhā,[5] though not a text of his own school, in support of

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1. अलंग्रासक्रमः सोऽयं महासाहसजन्मभूः ।   M.P.(T).2.29.
   For these concepts cf. Pt.II, Chap.5, Sec. 4.
2. Cf. Pt.II, Chap.5, Sec. 5(ii)
3. एका मुद्रा खेचरी च मुद्रौघः प्राणितो यया ।   T.A. 32.65.
4. सर्वत्र खेचरदृशा प्रविराजते यत् तन्नौमि साहसवरं गुरुवक्त्रगम्यम् ॥

   V.N.S.V., p.1. Also cf. The Phrase Mahā-vismaya-Mudrā in the 13th sūtra of the Vātūlanāthasūtra has been explained in the following manner -

   महाविस्मयः च विगतो विनष्टः स्मयो मितामिताहंकारदर्पः सर्वोल्लंघन-
   वृत्त्या स्वरूपानुप्रवेशः । अथ च महाविस्मयः स्वपरभेदविस्मरणात् झटिति
   निरन्तरनिरर्गलखेचरवृत्तिसमावेशः । सैव सर्वमुद्राणां क्रोडीकरणात् मुद्रा तस्या
   मौनपदसमावेशमयता ।   V.N.S.V., p.18.

5. अस्या एव सर्वत्र अविगीततां दर्शयितुं शास्त्रान्तरतोऽपि सप्रभेदं रूपमाह ।

   T.A.V., XII, p.329

his contention. In this school the Khecarī Mudrā has eight varieties, the highest going by the title of Vīra-bhairava.[1] This is on a par with the Khecarī proper. The Vīra-bhairava Mudrā, which is nothing short of Khecarī, consists in one's entry or entrenchment in the state, technically known as Sāhasa. Hence it is also portrayed as Sāhasa-Mudrā.[2] The striking analogue between the Sāhasa-mudrā as an embodiment of Khecarī of the Bhargaśikhā, on the one hand, and the Sāhasa-principle as incumbent upon the Khecara-doctrine of the Vātūla-nātha-sūtra, on the other, gives one further insight into the more antique beginnings of the concept, that later bloomed in the form of a sub-system. The principle of Great Sāhasa has always remained charged with the responsibility of submerging our total associations with the world of objectivity.[3] This marks the climax of the Kramic ascent and, for that matter, the highest stage of the Kula achievement as well. It appears that the Sāhasa school owed its origin to the internal motive of those who intended to emphasize the unique and **irresistible**

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1. साहसानुप्रवेशेन कुंचितं हस्तयुग्मकम् ।
अधोवीक्षणशीलं च सम्यग्दृष्टिसमन्वितम् ।।
वीरभैरवसंज्ञेयं खेचरी बोधवर्धिनी ।
अष्टधेत्थं वर्णिता श्रीभर्गष्टिकशिखाकुले ।। T.A.32.61-62.

2. ... साहसमुद्रानुप्रवेशेन झटिति स्वात्मानं पातयन्निव यदा योगी
वर्धितबोधो भवेत्, तदैव इयं वीरभैरवसंज्ञा अष्टमी ।
T.A.V., XII, pp.332-33.

3. [illegible] । [illegible]
महासाहसयोगविलीनाखिलवृत्तिकः ।। M.V.V.2.86.

rigour of the Sāhasa method.

Now Sāhasa is Śūnyatā-samāveśa, that is, immersion of the self in great vacuity and is, no doubt, a Krama phenomenon. Anantaśaktipāda is quite assertive on this point when he depicts the above viewpoint as the gist of the Mahānaya school.[1] The other factor strengthening one's belief in the equation of Śāhasa with Krama stems from the fact that the entire spiritual wealth of the book is attributed to Niṣkriyānanda-nātha who is avowedly a Krama author,[2] as will be pointed out later. Moreover the text employs the typical Krama idiom while describing the fivefold Absolutic functioning etc.,[3] in addition to its oral tradition being traced back to the monastic (female) deities (Pīṭha-devīs) who took some accomplished aspirant in their favour.[4] This, too, is also a Krama characteristic.

3. THE CHUMMĀ SUB-SCHOOL

From the Sāhasa sub-school we proceed to examine the Chummā sub-school to which the hitherto unpublished text,

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1. इत्थं महानयोक्तदृशा सर्वशास्त्रप्रपंचोत्तीर्णत्वादवाच्यं किमपि ......
   आसूत्रितमहाशून्यतासमावेशमावेद्य .... । V.N.S.V., p.5.
2. Ibid, p.4.
3. उद्योगावभासचर्वणालंग्रासविश्रान्तिरूपाणाम् ... । Ibid, p.13, also see p.12.
4. Ibid, pp.18-19.

i.e., Chummā Sampradāya is ascribed.[1] The exact meaning of the word Chummā is somewhat obscure. Nowhere in the text itself has an attempt been made to interpret the word. In the Tantrāloka the word Chummā comes twice. In one place,[2] it is used as a technical concept and is intended to suggest that Chummās and Mudrās, like Palli and Ghara etc., change with the change of preceptorial line. In the other place he enumerates six Chummās[3] without caring, in the least, for the nature and meaning of the word Chummā. From the nature of these, the Chummās probably mean the physio-logical centres of spirituality. A slightly clearer idea is furnished by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on the Svacchanda Tantra.[4] He says, Chummakā is a technical name (Pāribhāṣika Saṃjñā) and represents

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1. परतरमनिकेतं तत्त्वमार्गस्थितं ते
   निरुपमपदघुम्मासंप्रदायं समन्तात् ।
   स्वरसवशतयाहं त्वत्कृपाघ्रातचित्तः
   प्रकटतरवचोभिर्दर्शयाम्याशु नूनम् ॥ C.S.(MS),folio.1.
2. मुद्रा घुम्मेति तेषां च विधानं स्वपरस्थितम् । T.A. 4.268.
3. द्विदशान्तोर्ध्वगकुण्डलिबिन्दुवह्निनाभिकन्दमिति घुम्माः । Ibid, 29.37.
   cf. घुम्मकाः संप्रवक्ष्यामि कुलाम्नाये यथास्थिताः ।
   अतीतं प्रथमस्यापि द्वितीयस्य तु कुण्डली ॥
   भ्रूमध्ये वै तृतीयस्य संघट्टश्च चतुर्थके ।
   नाभिस्तु पंचमस्यैव जन्माधारस्तु षाष्ठके ॥

   Quoted from the Kula-Krīḍāvatāra, T.A.V.,XI, pp.228-29.
4. जपध्यानादियुक्तस्य चर्याव्रतधरस्य च ।
   छुम्मकाः संप्रवक्ष्यामि साधकस्य वरानने ॥ Sv.T. 15.1.

the system one belongs to.[1] The main purport of the Chummā theory is to preserve the secretive and esoteric nature of the system and to present the same as well.[2] The word Śarma might be its synonym.[3] The Chummā or Chummakā, perhaps, stood for the most relevant and useful aspect of a certain mystic or occult rite.[4] It is difficult to be absolutely sure whether or not one should identify these chummakās with the Chummā of the Chummā-Sampradāya. Needless to say that the work abounds in esoteric symbolism and hence mysterious and secretive aspect of the system is well preserved. In this respect both the texts stand on the same footing. Yet one can smell that the Chummās were reduced to two categories-secondary and ultimate. Although the attitude of the Chummā Sampradāya towards the secondary Chummās, which include the above Chummās of Abhinava and Kṣemarāja, is not known; no doubt is left with regard to the primary Chummā which has been designated as the Paryanta Chummā. Now this is interesting

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1. छुम्मका तत्समयानुप्रविष्टसंवित्या पारिभाषिकी संज्ञा ।

Sv.T.V.,VI,p.126.

2. अथ समयिमध्ये समयिनां तान्त्रिकव्यवहारगोपनेन निर्विघ्नसिद्धिसम्पत्त्यर्थं प्राकप्रमेयशेषतया पटलमारभमाणश्छुम्मकाशब्दपर्यायपारिभाषिकसंज्ञाभिर्लोकोत्तर-व्यवहारप्रवर्तनेन गूढतया शास्त्रस्य अस्य रहस्यतां दर्शयितुम् ... ।

Ibid,p.125.

3. See preceding note.

4. सर्वेषामेषां यागोपयोगिद्रव्यविशेषविषयां छुम्मकामाह....

परमोपादेयत्वमित्येवं छुम्मकया निर्देशः ।

Ibid,p.127.

to see that the notion of the ultimate Chumma has been explained in terms of Sāhasa[1], which is the continuous transcendental principle.

3-A. <u>SĀHASA AND CHUMMĀ ARE IDENTICAL</u>

The equation of Sāhasa and Paryanta-Chummā offers a strong ground for arriving at the identity of the Chummā with the Krama. Another phase of interest in respect of this equation is their unflinching adherence to oral nature of their respective traditions. In pursuance to this tendency the Sāhasa school is termed "Vaktrāmnāya" (oral revelation or tradition)[2] and the Chummā-school is depicted as having been handed down exclusively through the medium of oral transmission.[3] The hypothesis is further vindicated by the fact that the authorship of the <u>Chummā-sampradāya</u>, too, is attributed to Niṣkriyānandanātha[4]. The only difference between the two works being that the <u>Vātulānatha-sūtrāṇi</u> retains the semblance of the spiritual wisdom received by Niṣkriyānanda, whereas the <u>Chumma-sampradāya</u> is his direct work. This adds

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1. महापर्यन्तसंबोधपरछुम्ममहोदयः ।
   नानादर्शनसंभूतचर्चाभिः महाद्भुतः ॥
   वक्त्राद्वक्त्रक्रमोद्भूतसाहसाख्यो महाद्भुतः ।
   कालाकालोभयोल्लाससंदायात्सततोदितः ॥ C.S.(MS), folio.6.

2. Cf. V.N.S.V., pp.18-19.

3. Cf. Fn.1.above.

4. Cf. Pt.I, Chap.6, Sec.

a touch of conclusiveness to the conclusion that there is no basic difference between the concepts of Chummā and Sāhasa in their final analysis and shape, that both of the Sāhasa and Chumma, belong to the realm of Krama tantricism, and that Niṣkriyānanda may be credited with elevating the ordinary notions of the system to the rank and status of a sub-system. But one must not forget that this process must have taken time and hence such a development seems to be a later phenomenon. Moreso, when we already know that the Chummās etc., were not so favourably viewed in the earlier phase of the Krama system.

4. ANOTHER SUB-SCHOOL OF KRAMA

There is an oblique reference to another sub-school of the Krama in the 29th Āhnika of the *Tantrāloka*. This school has not been named as such but is said to be a progeny of a mixture of the two theses, one propounded in the *Devyāyāmala* and other in the *Mādhavakula*, which by itself is a part of the *Tantrarāja-bhaṭṭāraka*.[1] In this school, advocated by a section of teachers, worship and adoration of one's preceptorial line along with Pīṭha, Kṣetra etc., are not altogether

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1. श्रीमाधवकुले इति श्रीतन्त्रराजभट्टारकग्रन्थैकदेशभूते इत्यर्थः । अत्र हि केषांचिन गुरूणां श्रीदेव्यायामलश्रीमाधवकुलार्थसम्मेलनया सम्प्रदायः समस्ति ।

T.A.V., XI, p.41.

vanished.[1] In accordance with the thesis, the Pīṭhas have been assigned to the different parts of the body,[2] details of which bear no relevance to the problem in question. This mode of veneration provides the aspirant to contemplate and, therefore, visualize the Pīṭhas and their guardian deities as essentially identical with the self.[3]

Now the tenability of the present hypothesis that thrives on the possibility of a fresh school under the Krama system is a very delicate affair. Because it simply depends upon how we interpret the word "Matāntara" (Mata= view, ideology) employed by Jayaratha in this connection.[4] Since the entire 29th Āhnika deals with the Kula system,[5] "Matāntara" must mean something different from the main thesis under discussion. If 'Mata' stands for a view, it will mean "a different view from the general choir of the Kula system" and if we take 'mata' to convey the sense of an ideology, it will mean "the different ideology". In the first case, it is a simple deviation within

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1. पीठक्षेत्रादिभिः साकं कुर्याद्वा कुलपूजनम् ।
   यथा श्रीमाधवकुले परमेशेन भाषितम् ॥ T.A.29.56.
2. Ibid. 29.58-63.
3. Ibid, 29.64.
4. अथ प्रकारासूत्रणाय अत्र ससंवादं मतान्तरमपि अभिधातुमाह । T.A.V.,XI, p.40.
5. अथ सर्वाप्युपासेयं कुलप्रक्रियोच्यते ॥ T.A. 29.

   This is to be noted that the distinction between Kula-prakriyā and Tantra-prakriyā is retained even here. Vide

   ननु कुलप्रक्रियायाः प्रक्रियान्तरेभ्यः किं नाम वैलक्षण्यम् यदेवमधिकारिभेदोऽपि-
   विवदित इत्याशङ्क्याह T.A.V.,XI,p.2; vide also ननु स्वमाधारभेदवदि-
   तिकर्तव्यतापि अत्र किं तन्त्रप्रक्रियातः किंचिद् विभिद्यते न वा इत्याशङ्क्याह ।
   Ibid,p.6.

the Kula system itself. In the second case, it is an other system. If we are in for the second meaning, the only system that occupies the focus happens to be the Krama. Because the reference to the concepts of Krama-catuṣṭaya[1] and Kālasaṁkarṣiṇī[2] does not require further explanation for our holding so. Of these the former concept belongs to the Mādhavakula, while the latter to the Devīyāmala.

5. DIVERGENT TRADITIONS AND TENDENCIES WITH REGARD TO THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS

Coming back to the Krama system proper, the volume of controversies and differences of opinion on many a question do not appear to shrink instead they swell up.[3] The following lines will bear this out.

5-A. TWO TRADITIONS REGARDING THE NATURE AND STATUS OF THE ABSOLUTE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

There are two definite schools or traditions with reference to the nature and status of the Absolute. These

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1. सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारानामक्रमचतुष्टयम् ।
   पीठश्मशानसहितं पूजयेद्भोगमोदायी: । T.A. 29-57.
2. श्रीदेव्यायामले हि देवीत्रयं श्रीसंकर्षिणी चेति चतुष्टयम् ।
   T.A.V., XI, p.41.
3. Cf. संप्रदायभेदेन व्याख्यानविशेषा: स्थाने स्थाने दृश्यते M.P.(S), p.81.
   पारम्पर्येण अनुरुन्धाना: सर्वे मुखसंप्रदाया: यथा व्यवस्थाप्यमाना:
   तथा प्रतिष्ठां लभन्ते । Ibid, p.84.

tendencies seem to have their root in the Krama āgamas from the beginning, as will be pointed out at the appropriate occasion,[1] which resulted in two categories of āgamas- Devī-oriented and Śive-oriented. The scholars affiliated with Somananda and his spiritual descendents regarded Śiva to be the ultimate reality.[2] The rest differed, and reckoned Kālī or Devī to be the ultimate truth. The very term "Kālī-naya" as an equivalent for the Krama-naya smacks of reaction on the part of those who revolted against Śiva's supremacy. Somānanda's obsession with the grammarian's convention reducing the feminine gender to be a particular form of the masculine was, to some extent, responsible for his opposition to the female personality of the Supreme being. References to the female form, anywhere, were the outcome of the intensive devotion of the devotee to the deity.[3] On the basis of the material provided by Somānanda and Utpala, it appears that a real confrontation took place between the two opposing protagonists.[4] But such a difference of emphasis has more

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1. Cf. Pt.I, Chap.6. Sec.
2. अनर्गलस्वात्ममये महेशे तिष्ठन्ति यस्मिन् विभुशक्तयस्ताः ।
   तं शक्तिमन्तं प्रणमामि देवं मन्थानसंज्ञं जगदेकसारम् ॥
   K.S.(A),28.
3. लिंगविशेषान्यथानुपपत्त्या .... । यैः शक्तेः परत्वं गीयते तैस्तया धर्मभूतया धर्मी स्वाश्रयः स्वतन्त्री वास्तवाभेदयुक्त्या देवः शिवः प्रकाशितः ।
   S.Dr.V.,p.95.
4. अद्वयवादः स्थितः, पश्यन्ती विचारादनन्तरं स्वयूथ्यानद्वयवादिनः प्रति इदानीम् आरम्भः । Ibid,p.94.

far-reaching implications than is generally recognised, because this is a Krama transformation of the Śaiva question in general that asks for the precise evaluation of the relation between Prakāśa and Vimarśa aspects of Reality. In this context Prakāśa is called as Parameśvara, Manthāna or Manthāna-bhairava, and Śakti or Vimarśa as Kālī, Devī or Kāla-Saṁkarṣiṇī. Consequently, those who declare Śiva to be the ultimate, treat Kālī or Śakit as His manifestation and hence relegate it as slightly subsidiary. In this case Bhāsā and Anākhya in their respective domains come to be regarded as His functions. Vyomeśvarī or Vyoma-vāmeśvarī, under Pañcavāha (five-flow doctrine) are also deduced from Him. In this connection it is amusing to watch the adherents to ultimacy of the male aspect subscribe to the twelve-aspect theory (Dvādaśa Kālīs) under Saṁviccakra. Likewise, these schoolmen are also constrained to prescribe only sixtyfour aspects, excepting five vāhas, under Vṛnda Cakra. On the other hand, the other section of the scholars wedded to supremacy of the female aspect naturally deviates from the above premises. For them Śakit, i.e., absolutic dynamism, itself turns out to be the Dynamic reality. It is the Absolute per se. In their case Śiva is rendered somewhat secondary to Devī or Kālī. Bhāsā or Anākhya, as the case may be, is identified with reality as such. Similarly, the supreme Vāha called Vyoma-vāmeśvarī is not distinguished from Kālī as such. Interestingly enough, again the members of this school subscribe to the thirteen-aspect theory (Trayodaśa Kālīs) under Anākhya cakra, i.e., Saṁviccakra. The consequences

may be multiplied. Instead of sixtyfour they propound sixtyfive mystic categories as constituting Vṛnda cakra. In fact, in such cases the ultimate reality is treated as forming part of the whole episode, whereas in the Śiva-oriented doctrine the ultimate is treated separately.

5-A(I). THESE TWO TRADITIONS VIS-À-VIS PENTADIC AND QUARTIC TENDENCIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ABSOLUTIC FUNCTIONING

Sometimes, though not necessarily, a handsome distance is tried to be maintained between the two schools even with reference to the absolutic functioning. Accordingly, the believers in the ultimacy of Kālī are sought to subscribe to the five-function theory, whereas the others, who believe in the absoluteness of Śiva, to the four-function one. But there are overlappings and no uniform rule can be laid down in in this regard. Although divergence of views on the nature and number of the absolute's functions itself constitutes a very vital schism in the ranks of the system and accounts for several developments. This difference is vital in the sense that it has direct bearings on the meaning of the word Krama, as has been hinted earlier.[2] This is in fact the

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1. Cf.Pt.II, Chap. 3, Sec. 3-B.

2. Cf.Pt. I, Chap. 2, Sec. 1.

original source of the pentadic and quartic tendencies of the system in general that have gone a long way in determining the general outlines of the system. It may be recalled that the entire Kashmir Śaivism (monistic branch) **subscribes** to the theory of the five functions of the absolute, but barring a tacit acceptance a serious attempt has never been made to explore and study the philosophic and esoteric bearings of the theory. The two tendencies referred to above are the logical outcome of such an analysis, both conscious and subconscious, on the part of the Krama thinker.

5-A(I-A). QUARTIC TENDENCY

Thus under the quartic tendency an attempt is made to present the system's basic concepts in terms of four or groups of four. In this case the fifth function (Anugraha or Bhāsā) is subsumed under the fourth act (Tirodhāna or Anākhyā). In consequence, the fifth power (Cit) of the absolute is again subsumed under the fourth one (Ānanda). Factually the fourth state marks the synthesis. As a natural upshot, the ultimate reality in this case comes to be designated as Anākhyā and not Bhāsā. Nevertheless, from the arrangement of the twelve Kālikās in the three categories of four each as presented by Jayaratha[1], it appears that Abhinava too was inclined to favour the four-function theory.[2]

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1. Cf. Pt. II, Chap. 3, Sec. 6-D. (A), (B), (C).

~~2. [illegible]~~

2. Cf. Ibid.

According to him the four godly acts of Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Saṁhāra and Anākhyā in relation to each of the subject, object and the means of knowledge give us the twelve deities. Again under this scheme the functional cycles such as Sṛṣṭi-cakra etc., number four and end with the Anākhyā cakra. Likewise, the deeper significance is attached to the four cycles, e.g., Pañcavāha, Prakāśa, Ānanda and Mūrti.[1] The biggest impact of the quartic tendency is seen in the theory of speech. Despite the efforts to introduce Sūkṣmā, as we shall subsequently see[2], to augment the number of the aspects of speech to five, the sizeable majority of the Krama thinkers has always sided with the theory of fourfold speech.[3]

5-A(I-B) PENTADIC TENDENCY

Yet the pentadic tendency appears to have been a greater favourite of the Krama system in general. The tendency is manifest in attempts to present the concepts of the systems in terms of five or groups of five notions. Thus the primary pentad goes by the name of Pañcavāha representing the five

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1. यत्पीठचक्रार्चितपंचवाहप्रकाशमानन्द-खमूर्तिचक्रम् ।
अष्टाष्टचक्रं प्रविराजते तद् गुरुक्रमौघं सचतुष्टयार्थम् ॥

M.M.P., p.86.

2. Cf. Pt.II, Chap.7, Secs. 9 and 9-A.
3. Cf. Ibid, Sec. 9-B.

flows of the self-emanative spiritual energy ranging from Vyoma-vāmeśvarī to Bhūcarī. The functions of the absolute which this section fervently advocates are five - Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Pralaya, Anākhyā and Bhāsā. The absolutic powers are also five- Cit, Ānanda, Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā. Maheśvarānanda under the influence of this tendency adds Sūkṣmā to the four-fold division of speech hitherto advocated by the system. Now these run as - Parā, Sūkṣmā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī. The esoterically and metaphysically symbolic groups, which are enjoined for contemplation, also number five- Śrīpīṭha, Pañcavāha, Netratraya, Vṛnda-cakra and Gurupaṅkti.[1] Of these the Vṛndacakra, which according to Maheśvarānanda represents quintessence of the Krama thinking, contains many a pentad[2]. The entire Vṛnda cakra centres round the five siddhas and their numerous significations. These siddhas are- Jñāna, Mantra, Melāpa, Śākta and Śāmbhava. Under the Vṛnda-cakra the Dhāma-krama lays down five dhāmas as respective abodes of those Siddhas. They are- Kanda, Nābhi, Hṛt, Kaṇṭha, and Bhrūmadhya. In the same strain Mudrā-krama speaks of five Mudrās, i.e., physical postures- Karaṅkiṇī, Krodhanī,

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1. श्रीपीठपंचवाहनेत्रत्रयवृन्दचक्राणि स्मरत ।
स्मरत च गुरूणां पंक्तिं पंच च शक्तीः सृष्टिप्रमुखाः ॥
M.M.P., p.86.

2. इत्येनां गुरुमुखसम्प्रदायलब्धां वाचालः शुक इव वृन्दचक्रचर्याम् ।
पंचार्थक्रमपदवीरहस्यसंवित्सर्वस्वव्यतिकरगर्भिणीमवोचम् ॥
Ibid, p.98.

Bhairavī, Lelihānā and Khecarī. The concept of five letters technically spoken of as Pañca-piṇḍas under Varṇa-krama too reflects the same tendency. Exactly on these lines, the five cycles, namely, Prakāśa, Ānanda, Mūrti, Pañcavāha and Vṛnda go to erect the superstructure of Divyaugha.[1]

This pentadic tendency characterizes the efforts to identify even those groups, which admittedly consist of more than five ingredients, with the basic pendat termed Pañcavāha. Thus Śrīpīṭha has nine constituents (Kalās) - (1) primal subjective stir (Ādya spanda), (2) extrovert subjective tendency, (3) the stir of the means of perception, (4) the rise of tendency in the means to apprehend determinately, and (5-9) awareness of the objective which is fivefold in accordance with the five elements. By ignoring the division of the objective into five elements this group of nine is rendered identical with the five vāhas.[2]

5-B. DISPUTE ABOUT THE EXACT NUMBER OF PARTS OF THE KRAMA YOGA

The ideological antagonism has often touched other frontiers of the system as well. If one recapitulates what

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1. दिव्यौघचक्रपंचकस्कारिणी वृन्दचक्रनायिका .... । V.Bh.V., p.68.
2. नवात्मकत्वेऽप्यस्य प्रमातृप्रमाणोपगृहीतव्योमादिपंचकस्वभावत्वात् पंचवाहचक्रतादात्म्यं न किंचिदप्यतिक्रम्यते ।

M.M.P., p.88.

has been said about the Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga,[1] it will be found that the unanimity was wanting with regard to the precise number of the parts of the Yoga. Although Jayaratha mentions the theory of sixfold yoga, he does not appear to take it very seriously. Abhinava, himself, feels more at home with the eight-fold doctrine. A minor unpublished Krama text entitled <u>Jñāna-kriyā-dvaya-śataka</u> makes no pretentions about its abiding by the eight-fold path.[2]

5-C. <u>SEVERAL MINOR CONTROVERSIES REFERRED TO</u>

These pages do not consider it advisable to dilate upon the minor controversies. In spite of their enormous magnitude and wide range, **their treatment may be conveniently postponed** for future consideration in their respective contexts. Such controversies in the main include; e.g., exact number of divinities to be reflected upon in the Anākhya cakra; serial order of the five functional cycles for the purpose of adoration; inclusion of Yoganāthas and Rājaputras in the Krama system; precise serial order of the five flows (Pañcavāha); equation of Prakāśa, Ānanda and Mūrti cakras with five flows; the serial order of Prakāśa, Ānanda and

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1. Cf. Pt.I, Chap.4, Sec. 5.

2. अष्टांगयोगानुष्ठानं समयाचारसेवनम् ।।. ..
उपायव्रात आदिष्टः स्वस्वरूपप्रकाशकः ।।
Verses 16 and 22, folio 1b. M.S.No.107/1875-76, BORI, Poona.

Mūrti cakras; concept of Puryaṣṭaka; precise number of aspects of the Vṛnda cakra; Mudrās and Mudrākrama of Vṛnda-cakra; stages of speech, their nature and number. These problems are culled here with the sole desire to give the reader an idea of the extent these divergences reach out to.

6. SOURCE OF THE QUARTIC AND PENTADIC TENDENCIES

The only question in this connection now remains to be considered, is to locate the probable cause of such a pentadic or quartic tendency. According to Dr. Pandey, this pentadic tendency is not the exclusive property of the Krama system alone. It has been anticipated by an earlier system of dualistic-cum-monistic Śaivism which is known as Lakulīśa Pāśupata[1]. In this case the pentadic tendency was aroused by the five Mantras of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, which provided the back-drop for the conception of the five aspects of Śiva to be contemplated at the five stages on the path to final salvation. This trend was maintained in the Gaṇa-kārikā which summarises the whole system through the medium of eight pentads.[2]

1. Cf. Bhāskarī, III, pp.CXII and CXXXIV.

2. Cf. Abhinava, p.495.

However, the pentadic (or quartic) tendency of the Krama system seems to have been inspired by the quinary functionalism of the Absolute. Even these five functions of the absolute owe their genesis to the five modes of absolutic dynamism known as Kalana. The very basis of designating the ultimate reality as Kālī is, in fact, supplied by its capacity to effect five types of Kalana, namely, Kṣepa (projection), Jñāna (knowledge), Prasaṅkhyāna (determination), Gati (self-identification) and Nāda (pure awareness).[1]

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1. क्षेपो ज्ञानं च संख्यानं गतिर्नाद इति क्रमात् ।। ....
   इति पंचविधामेनां कलनां कुर्वती परा ।
   देवी काली तथा कालकर्षिणी चेति कथ्यते ।।

T.A. 4.173,176.

CHAPTER SIX

SOURCE AND LITERATURE

(A reconstructive study of Krama history and an analysis of the entire known as well as extant Krama literature with special reference to its authorship, historicity, availability, classification, subject-matter and chronology.)

(110-343)

[Kashmir: the land of origin of the Krama system (110) - Origin and early history (113) - Esoteric symbolism as part of the Krama History, Theory of three Oghas (113) - Various traditional accounts of the initial phase of the Krama system (115) - Consistent account of the early history of the system (121) - Creative period of the Krama system: rise and decay (126) - Historical backdrop of these phases (130) - Chronological position and contribution of the individual authors (135) - Vātūlanātha (135) - Gandhamādana (136) - Niṣkriyānandanātha (137) - Vidyānandanātha (139) - Śaktyānandanātha (140) - Śivānanda (140) - Vasugupta (146) - Three female disciples of Śivānanda (150) - Kallaṭa (152) - Govindarāja, Bhānuka and Eraka (163) - Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa (164) - Somānanda (175) - Ujjaṭa (181) - Utpala (181) - Udbhaṭṭa (187) - Stotakāra, i.e., Siddha Nātha (188) - Bhāskara (197) - Lakṣmaṇagupta (200) -

1. KASHMIR: THE LAND OF ORIGIN OF THE KRAMA SYSTEM

While switching over to an enquiry into the history and literary wealth of the Krama system we are reminded of a feeling reference made by Bilhaṇa to Kashmir, the land of Śāradā (Śāradā-deśa). He says it is only Kashmir which has the unique privilege of producing saffron filaments together with the poetic ingenuity.[1] And, were one to add that Kashmir is equally the land of philosophical originality as it is a country of saffron flowers, he need not be afraid of being accused of exaggeration. The Krama system, with its long history and voluminous literature, only goes to exemplify the above statement. Jayaratha has not failed to take note of these twin peculiarities[2] of Kashmir, the seat of the goddess of learning[3], with special reference to Kashmir Śaiva monism. Even the plan and design of the city of

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1. सहोदराः कुंकुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।
   न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ॥ Vik.1.V.21.

2. श्रीसोमानन्दपादप्रभृतिगुरुवरादिष्टसन्नीतिमार्गो
   लब्ध्वा यत्रैव सम्यक्प्रटिमनि घटनामीश्वराद्वैतवादः ।
   कश्मीरेभ्यः प्रसृत्य प्रकटपरिमलो रंजयन् सर्वदेशान्
   देशेऽन्यस्मिन्नदृष्टो घुसृणविसरवत्सर्ववन्द्यत्वमवाप ॥
   T.A.V, XII, p.429

3. युक्ता बोधप्रधाना स्थितनिजमहसा शारदा पीठदेवी ।
   विद्यापीठे प्रथीयः प्रथितनिखिलवाग्यत्र काश्मीरनाम्नि ॥ Ibid.

Srinagar has been patterned on that of the Śrī Cakra, according a tradition current even today.[1] In this connection it is of special interest to remember, as has also been pointed out whenever the occasion so warranted, that of all the systems of monistic Śavism associated with Kashmir the Krama is the lone system that arose from the soil of Kashmir. We have repeated this again in view of its extreme significance. The name "Auttara Krama" is only an acknowledgement of the fact. Because Śivānanda, who is the first preceptor of the system and hence is called 'the originator'[2] (Avatārakanātha), is said to have received his spiritual lessons in Kashmir, the Uttarapīṭha[3]. Jayaratha appears to have hinted at Śivānanda's possible association with Kāmarūpa[4], renowned for its great tantric affiliations, when he is presented to have

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1. In the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there is a manuscript of the text named Vidyārnava by a student of some Pragalbhācarya, which also records this tradition. By implication, 'Srinagar' is an abbrevation of the original 'Śrī-Vidyānagara.'

2. श्रीमदवतारकनाथेन ...। T.A.V., III, p.195; also see p.197.

3. उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथात् ... । Ibid, p.192.

4. अयं च प्रथममेताभिरेव कामरूपे चरुकप्रधानेनानुगृहीतः इति गुरवः । Ibid, p.201

Caruka is not a name of a teacher etc., instead, means an important item in the Kula-yāga.

cf. चरुकः सम्प्रदायश्च विज्ञानं मेलकं तथा ।
पूजाक्रमविधानं च योगिनीनां मुखे स्थितम् ॥ Quoted, T.A.V., XI, p.19 (Ah. 19). Caruka's being a part of a Kula process may well also endorse Kāmarūpa's relation with Kula and not with Krama.

been blessed by Jayā etc., the deities. But this observation, as per its context, is not intended to explain his relation with the Krama system. Jayaratha, who is in fact reproducing the account as given in the Kramakeli of Abhinavagupta, is very categorical about the fact that the Krama secrets were revealed to him in Kashmir.[1] The enormous praise heaped on the Uttara Pīṭha further bears it out.[2] Maheśvarānanda's citing an extract from the Ṛjuvimarśinī puts the last word on it.[3] However, the Krama system did not remain restricted to Kashmir alone. It spread even asfar as Cola-deśa (modern Karnataka). Krama's association with various Pīṭhas like Oḍḍiyāna[4], Pūrṇa Pīṭha[5] etc., is a sign of its prevalence even beyond the boundaries of Kashmir. The correct geographical identification of these pīṭhas will no doubt add to certidute of our knowledge about Krama.

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1. उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथात् लब्धानुग्रहाभ्य: .... ।
T.A.V, III, p.192.

2. M.P.(T) 2.37.

3. .... सम्प्रदायस्य काश्मीरोद्भूतत्वात ... ...। M.M.P., p.193.

4. Cf. M.P.(S), pp.50, 60, M.M.P., pp. 86, 96, 102.

5. C.G.C. 4.128.

For further reference about the Pīṭhas cf. Pt.I, Chap. 3, Sec. 4; Pt. II, Chap. 4, Sec.10.

2. ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

The exact record of origin and initial phases of the system is clouded in the labyrinth of the mythical, mystical and symbolical accounts. The Krama practice of reverring the preceptorial line at the end of Vrnda-cakra[1] has proved to be an asset in view of its supplying the traditional recordings of the historical data, if any. More so, the general tantric convention which lays it down as an imperative for an author to begin his venture with homage to his teachers[2] also helps one inculcate a rather coherent historical view. At the same time, this practice has also contributed to confusion and complicated the issues since such an account, for want of historical perspective and purport, leaves many gaps unfilled and many more questions unanswered.

2-A. ESOTERIC SYMBOLISM AS PART OF THE KRAMA HISTORY: THEORY OF THREE OGHAS

But the tantric, and for the matter of that, the Kramic notion of history is drastically different from one we generally hold, because it makes esoteric symbolism as

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1. अतो वृन्दक्रमस्यान्ते पूज्यते गुरुसन्ततिः । M.P.(T). 8.3; also cf. M.M. 36.
2. इह खलु शास्त्रादौ .... इत्याद्युक्तदृशा अवश्यमेव शास्त्रकारैः स्वगुर्वादेः कीर्तनं कार्यम् । T.A.V.,I,p.23.

a part and parcel of its historical thesis. Krama, treading the current tantric line, arranges the entire course of history in three succeeding phases under the names of Divyaugha, Siddhaugha and Mānavaugha standing for the traditions of the divine, the semi-divine or sacred, and the humans respectively.[1] Among these the second occasionally and the third usually are historically relevant. These three may roughly be compared with the three phases, namely, Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇa of the orthodox account of history. The word Ogha which forms the substantive part of the words denoting the three phases, means a community of those possessing similar character.[2] By implication, the members displaying a common personality make-up have been classed accordingly under three groups. This is corroborated by another interpretation of the word 'Ogha' in terms of creation.[3] Accordingly, the three terms, e.g., Divyaugha, Siddhaugha and Mānavaugha, may be said to represent the order of creation pertaining to the divine, the order of creation pertaining to the accomplished and the order of creation pertaining to

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1. क्रमेण तत्त्वनाथानां परिपाट्या भुवः स्थलम् ।
   दिव्यसिद्धमनुष्यौघप्रविभागादवातरत् ॥ M.M.P., p.197.

2. ओघे स्वसदृग्गणे - संकुचिते प्रमातृवर्गे प्रकाशैकपरमार्थे वा विश्वत्र,
   T.A.V., VI, p.3.

3. अत्र ओघसंघट्टशब्दाभ्यां सृष्टिस्थित्योः ..... ।
   B.U.V., p.8.

the humans with special respect to the preceptorial line.

2-B. VARIOUS TRADITIONAL ACCOUNTS OF THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE KRAMA SYSTEM

Besides occasionally conflicting versions among the various traditions, our only comment is that nowhere has a consistent account of all three stages been maintained. All the things have got mixed up and whatever comes before us is just a hotchpotch.

According to a tradition ascribed to the Kramakeli by Maheśvarānanda[1], who has preserved it for us, the entire Gītā is an attempt on the part of Kṛṣṇa to expound to Arjuna the philosophy of Krama[2]. Besides, the famous opening of the fourth chapter of the Gītā, according to him, records the original history of the Krama system.[3] While initiating Arjuna in the Krama secrets, Kṛṣṇa had to enter the supreme spiritual state of Kāla-saṁkarṣiṇī[4]. Arjuna, after knowing

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1. एतद् वितत्य व्याख्यातैः क्रमकेलौ कुलागमे ।
नाथाभिनवगुप्ताद्यैः पर्यालोचितमादरात् ।। M.M.P., p.190.

2. एनमेव महार्थं युद्धारम्भे पाण्डुपुत्रस्य।
षोडशसहस्रशक्तिर्देव उपदिशति माधव इति शिवम् ।। M.M. 70.

3. माधवः पाण्डुपुत्रायोपदिशतीति गुरुशिष्यभावोद्भावनेन, इमं विवस्वते योगम् .... रहस्यं ह्येतदुत्तमम् इति गुरुपर्वक्रमात्मनः सम्बन्धस्यावश्यानुसंधेयता च द्योत्यते ।
M.M.P., p.187.

4. कालग्रासैकरसिकां कालसंकर्षिणीं कलाम् ।
अनुप्रविश्य योगेन खेचरीखचितौजसा ।। Ibid, p.188.

the fundamental spiritual truth, renounced the world having enthroned Yudhiṣṭhira as the head of the state.[1] Maheśvarānanda takes a lot of pain to present the arrangement of the subject-matter and plan of the <u>Gītā</u> in terms of Krama, all of which is of no particular relevance from our point of view.

Maheśvarānanda records yet another tradition of the Krama and suggests the coverage of all the three stages by it. The first ever revelation is said to have proceeded from Bhairava, Parama Śiva, who delivered it to Bhairavī, the Icchā Śakti.[2] With the passage of time it was imparted to Śivānanda and further through a series of teachers it was finally handed down to Maheśvarānanda.[3] It is strange that an author of his eminence and acumen does not attempt to indicate the precise composition of the three phases, e.g., Divyaugha etc. Even at other occasions, particularly while discussing the lineage of his preceptors (gurupaṅkti), he

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1. अग्रजं च प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्वस्य राज्ये युधिष्ठरम् ।।
स्वसंरम्भानुगुण्येन स्वैरं व्यवहरन् बहिः ।   M.M.P., p.190.

2. तथा तथा शिवस्तस्याश्चैतन्यमुपबृंहयन् ।
अर्थतत्त्वमुपादिदादौत्तराम्नायसंविदाम् ।।   Ibid, p.196.

3. अथ सा कालयोगेन शिवानन्दस्य धीमतः ।
शिष्यस्योपादिशद्देवी चिदद्वैतस्य निश्चयम् ।।
क्रमेण तच्च नाथानां परिपाद्या भुवः स्थलम् ।
दिव्यसिद्धमनुष्यौघप्रविभागादवातरत् ।।
अवतीर्णाप्यसौ विद्या महार्थक्रमगर्भिणी ।   Ibid, p.197.

merely reiterates, but does not add to, what he has already said except introducing Mangalā Devī in place of Bhairavī or Icchā Śakti.[1] Only at one place does he tell of his immediate preceptorial succession in the order, Śivānanda, Mahāprakāśa and Maheśvarānanda[2]. This Śivānanda is indeed different from one mentioned above as the first human recipient of the Krama dicta. His immediate ancestry appears to have been suggested in the benedictory verses of the Parimala commentary.[3] Coming back to the original problem, we may systematize the above account by placing Bhairava, Bhairavī etc., under Divyaugha and Śivānanda etc., under Mānavaugha. His taciternity leaves us in the dark about his view of the Siddhaugha, although he talks of those elements in different contexts that go to constitute the Siddhaugha according to other authors. Thus, for instance, Abhinava, in his Tantrāloka, refers to a tradition of the Siddhas (Siddha-santati) beginning with Khagendra and ending with Mina,[4] which has been adored by

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1. स तु भगवतां श्रीमंगलादेवीमारभ्य श्रीमहेश्वरानन्दपर्यन्तं पृथक् प्रथमानानां गुरुनाथानाम् ..। Ibid,p.99. He further avers - आरभ्यमंगला- दीप्तिशिवानन्दादिकं क्रमम् । Ibid.
2. श्रीशिवानन्दमहाप्रकाशमहेश्वरानन्दप्रभृतिभिर्योगीन्द्रैः संभूयवादेन उपभुज्यमानत्वात् । M.M.P.,p.135.
3. Cf. verses Nos. 4, 6, 7. Ibid,p.1.
4. युगक्रमेण कूर्माद्या मीनान्ता सिद्धसंततिः । T.A. 4.267.
   Jayaratha comments- आद्यशब्दस्तन्त्रेण व्याख्येयः, तेन कूर्मस्य त्रेतायुगावतारकस्य श्रीकूर्मनाथस्याद्यः कृतयुगावतारकः श्री खगेन्द्रनाथः स आद्यो - यस्याः सा ।

   T.A.V.,III,pp.296-97.

Maheśvarānanda in the Sthiti-Krama.[1] This view of reckoning the four Yuganāthas comprising the Siddha tradition (Siddhaugha) also seems to have been endorsed by the Mahānaya-Prakāśa, which, we shall see, is a work of Śivānanda, the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda. But the Siddhaugha of such constitution is not approved by the other stalwarts of the system notably Abhinava and Śitikaṇṭha. Abhinava does not regard the Siddha-santati as essentially a Krama phenomenon, because prescribing or denying such a tradition is not in conformity with the Krama tendency of absolute monism.[3] He, however, makes it absolutely clear elsewhere that the Siddha-tradition at issue is exclusively a Kula phenomenon[4]. Śitikaṇṭha too, is vocal about it and vehemently opposes it. He positively holds that such a tradition (āyātikrama) is an imposition of an exotic doctrine on the Krama.[5] He rejects even the

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1. शक्तयश्च तत: शिरश्चक्रे युगनाथाश्चत्वार: ... । M.M.P., p.102.

2. Cf. M.P.(T). 8.14-17.

3. सिद्धक्रमेति सिद्धानां कृतयुगादिक्रमेण श्रीखगेन्द्रनाथादीनां क्रमे तत्परम्परा-
गतायां कुलप्रक्रियायामित्यर्थ: ।
(Jayaratha on T.A.29.3) T.A.V., XI, pp.2-3.

4. स्वं दोत्रप्रवेशादिसंतानियमान्तत: ॥
नास्मिन्विधीयते तद्धि सादाज्ञौपयिकं शिवे ।
न तस्य च निषेधो यत्र तत्तस्य खण्डनम् ॥
T.A. 4.270-71.

5. अन्यत्र दर्शनान्तरे कुलाकुलक्रमेण स्तत्खगेन्द्रादिनाम्नैव व्यवह्रियमाणाश्चत्वार:
खगेन्द्राद्या: .. इह पूज्यतया आरोप्यन्ते, इति - पापात्पापेयं वाचोयुक्ति: ।
M.P.(S), pp.115-16

slightest occasion for such a thesis in the system and holds that the four Siddha-groups represented by Jñāna, Mantra, Melāpa and Śākta under the Vṛnda-cakra would, of necessity, supply the basic content and material of the Sthitikrama.[1] Since these are esoteric notions and symbolize the mystic concepts, the Siddhaugha loses most of its historical value.

But Śitikaṇṭha agrees with Maheśvarānanda who also traces the system to Mangalā Devī as its first teacher.[2] But Makāra Devī is no less than the self-adumberation of the Primordial Divinity[3] which, in its own right, presides over and constitutes the Divyaugha[4]. Divyaugha, which also goes by the name of Mahaugha[5] is a sheer mythical concept. The professed identity between the triad of cycles comprising Ānanda, Mūrti and Prakāśa and Divyaugha is a pointer in this direction.[6] In fact Śitikaṇṭha talks of five Oghas (traditions[7]),

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1. तत्र कोऽवकाशः कनिष्ठस्य गुरुक्रमस्य पूज्यतायाम्, इति चतुर्भिरेव ज्ञानसिद्धैः स्थितिक्रमः पार्यते । M.P.(S), p.116.
2. श्रीमकारदेवी आदिगुरुरूपा जीयात् । Ibid, p.5.
3. तथापि सुप्रबुद्धश्रीमंगलारूपेण आदिदेवतैव विवृता । Ibid.
4. परमात्मस्वरूपादिदैव्यधिष्ठितपरावागात्मस्वरूपदिव्यौघात् । Ibid, p.3
5. आदौ भगवतीं प्राधान्यात् प्रणम्य ततश्चक्रपंचकनिविष्टा देवताः पूज्यन्ते, इत्ययं महौघः, तदनु सिद्धौघे ... । Ibid, p.85.
6. ....एतद्दिव्यौघरूपम् चक्रत्रयम् । Ibid, p.80.
7. Ibid, p.144.

namely, Paraugha, Divyaugha, Mahaugha, Siddhaugha and Mānavaugha, but the first three can be conveniently subsumed under Divyaugha. Hence the primary classification of the three Oghas is not hampered. Adverting to Siddhaugha we find that it begins with Makāradevī[1]. The rest has already been seen in the preceding paragraph. The only thing of dubious historical significance is a reference to some Jñānanetra-nātha who is said to have directly inherited the spiritual fortune from Maṅgalā or Makāra-devī.[2] A reference has also been made to some Śrīnātha[3]. The similarity of context tends heavily in favour of identifying the two, though it is also a case of doubtful equation. However, this equation cannot be dismissed as wholly unfounded, because Śivānanda, the author of the other Mahānaya-Prakāśa, too makes an ellicit reference to one Antarnetra-nātha who seems to have unravelled the mystry of the highest Pīṭha.[4] For, there is no basic difference in the meaning of the Jñāna-netra or Antarnetra, and since twisting of names without interfering with their meaning

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1. मकारदेवी ... सा हि महौघमतिक्रम्य भिन्ना सिद्धौघे पूज्यते ।

Ibid, p.104; Also cf. P.107.

2. श्रीमन्मकारदेव्याः पीठवरे प्राप्तादेशेन श्रीज्ञाननेत्रनाथेन ... यत्साक्षात्कृत तदेव भूतदयाविष्टेन सता क्रमार्थतया .. वान्तम् तदेव प्रस्तूयते ।

M.P.(S), p.49.

3. आदिपीठादिष्टश्रीनाथस्तु देवगुरुभागव्यवस्थामेकस्य अखण्डचित्स्वरूपस्य यदादिदेश.... । Ibid, p.73.

4. अत्रान्तर्नेत्रनाथस्य प्रकटानुभवोऽभवत् ।
ततो ध्यानं तु तत्पीठं सर्वपीठोत्तमं बहिः ।
योगिनीसिद्धसंसेव्यमुत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितम् ।।

M.P.(T).2.36-37.

is not uncommon among Sanskrit authors, their identity cannot be brushed aside without proper scrutiny. It appears that, in spite of their probable historicity, these Nāthas (or Nātha, to be more exact) were assigned to Siddhaugha, which is succeeded by Mānavaugha in chronological order. The Mānavaugha or human phase is traced to some Hṛasvanātha and is concluded with Cakrabhānu.[1] The Mānavaugha has a further sub-division, i.e., Śiṣyaugha[2] (lineage of the disciples), which starts with Cakrabhānu and closes with Śitikaṇṭha.[3] Now this Mānavaugha or human phase has immediate bearings on the historical character of the Krama system. The exact significance will be examined at the proper occasion in the sequel, but it may not escape our notice that Śitikaṇṭha's presentation, though by far the most comprehensive, is by all means incomplete and sketchy.

2-C. CONSISTENT ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SYSTEM

One must feel grateful to Jayaratha who, though citing from the Kramakeli, has preserved to us the account of early history of the system.[4] It goes to the credit side of his

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1. M.P.(S), p.107.
2. मानवौघशिष्यौघयोरैक्येन गुरुक्रमः । Ibid, p.140.
3. Ibid, p.107.
4. T.A.V.,III,pp. 192-3.

treatment that his is the first rational and consistent effort to supply the links left missing in the cryptic statements of the authors including Maheśvarānanda. The _Kramakeli_ acknowledges the earliest preceptorial status of Śivānanda having received his lessons in the Uttarapīṭha. The close affinity between the _Kramakeli's_ and the _Mahānayaprakāśa's_ accounts forces us not to unduly distinguish Śivānanda from Śrīnātha, although it has nowhere been so explicitly asserted. Śivānanda handed over the spiritual wealth to three of his female disciples, namely, Keyūravatī, Madanikā and Kalyāṇavatī. Next in the line are Govindarāja, Bhānuka and Eraka to whom were revealed the Krama secrets by these female ascetics simultaneously. The first two, e.g., Govindarāja and Bhānuka, marked the beginning of the two different traditions of the Krama scholars. Somānanda was connected with Govindarāja who transmitted the creed of Krama to the former, and Ujjaṭa and Udbhaṭa were ascribed to the other tradition headed by Bhānuka. The latter tradition came down intact to Jayaratha. The third, Eraka, did not bother about forming a school of his own, instead he thought it better to propound the system all alone.

Thus, it may be noted that Śivānanda's position as the first preceptor of the system is in no way compromised. But a quotation from the _Devī-pañcaśatika_, again our thanks go to Jayaratha, alludes to three precursors of Śivānanda

alongwith their spouses as under :-[1]

Niṣkriyānanda	-	Jñānadīpti,
Vidyānanda	-	Raktā,
Śaktyānanda	-	Mahānandā, and
Śivānanda	-	Samayā.[2]

In the interest of logicality, if one could establish the

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1. ननु श्रीदेवीपंचशतिकादौ "निष्क्रियानन्दनाथश्च ज्ञानदीप्त्या सङ्केत: ।
विद्यानन्दश्च रक्ता च द्वितीयं कथितं तव ।।
शक्त्यानन्दो महानन्दा तृतीयं सिद्धपूजितम् ।
शिवानन्दस्तथा ज्ञेया समया तच्चतुर्थकम् ।।" इत्याद्युक्त्या
अन्येऽपि सपत्नीका गुरव उक्तास्तद्वदिहापि कथं नोच्यन्ते इत्याशंक्य आह -
T.A.,XI,p.31(Ah.29).

2. Jayaratha's suggestion that this Krama tradition has a stamp of conclusiveness about it. He, in his prefatory remark on T.A. 29.43, raises a question as to why other teachers such as those mentioned in the Devi-pañcaśatika, are not referred to here in the 'present'(इह) context (because these teachers are different from those that are being alluded to presently). Here the present context means the Kula system. Jayaratha's explanation hints at the impossibility of explicitly mentioning the teachers that have nothing to do with Kula. These teachers enjoy a detailed treatment in the Kālī-kula, but they need not be worshipped, instead, remembered only in the Kula context for the simple reason that these do not come under the purview of the Kula system. The word तद्वत् (see the preceding note) is very pregnant and purposive. It meant that the Devīpañcaśatika speaks of teachers other than those described above in the Kula context. Now Devi-pañcaśatika is a Krama text, hence the 'other' system than the 'present one' is bound to be the Krama. Hence Niṣkriyānanda etc., are automatically related to the Krama system. Vide, T.A.V., XI, pp.31-33(Ah.29).

identity of the present Śivānanda with one recognized as the inventor of the system, one will have adequate ground to believe that Krama had earlier beginnings. Two strong considerations lend their weight to the surmise that these two are one. First, the Devīpañcaśatika is a recognized textual authority on Krama as the following pages would reveal. And secondly, Ananta-śakti-pāda, a commentator on a later Krama text "Vātulanātha Sūtra"[1] and Śivopādhyāya, the learned author of the Uddyota commentary on the Vijñāna-bhairava[2], record the opinion of some Niṣkriyānandanātha, who is nowhere taken note of in the Kashmir Śaiva texts, even once except in the Devīpañcaśatika. If this contention be true, Niṣkriyānandanātha should be recognized as the first thinker of the Krama system. If he is not so recognized in place of Śivānanda, it is perhaps because he did not build up a system. The process of even greater antiquity of the system does not end here. Niṣkriyānandanātha is preceded by some Gandhamādana Siddha who took the former in his personal favour,[3] Gandhamādana probably had a book[4] which he showed to Niṣkriyānanda and divulged its contents to him.

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1. V.N.S.V.,p.4.
2. V.Bh.V.,pp.67-68.
3. V.N.S.V.,p.4.
4. Ibid.

Thus, historically, Krama seeds were sown much earlier than **one is** apt to believe. **One is** also in a position to ascertain the approximate historical status of these early thinkers. From the account furnished by Jayaratha, Śivānanda was removed by two intervening generations (i.e., Keyūravati and Govindarāja) from Somānanda, whose chronological position is almost certain. He is assigned towards the close of the ninth century. By assigning twentyfive years to each generation according to the usual practice of the historians, Śivānanda may be placed in the first quarter of the ninth century. Gandhamādana, who is by four generations older to Śivānanda, has to be assigned towards the beginning of the eighth or the last quarter of the seventh century. Ostensibly enough, the Krama system dates back fairly early. In a sense it is the earliest **system** amongst the monistic Śaiva systems of Kashmir, because all other systems arose or emerged somewhere around the beginning of the ninth century.

Such a hoary antiquity of the system is further established by collateral evidence also. The <u>Haravijaya</u> of Ratnākara, which is attributed to the seventh century by the scholars, enlogizes the ultimate deity as Saṃkarṣiṇī[1]

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1. प्राप्ताभिसंधि परतामनुवृत्तिलग्नगौणास्थितिः स्थितसितातिशयादभीक्ष्णम् ।
विधेति सर्वबहुलाखिलदृष्टिसंज्ञा संकर्षिणि निगदिता किल शासनेत्वम् ॥

H.V.47.55.

in course of offering prayers to Śakti. A student of the Krama philosophy is fully well aware of the implications of this term. It is a typical Krama method of naming the Absolute. The words Saṁkarṣiṇī and Kāla-saṁkarṣiṇī have no semantic difference. They stand for the one and the same principle.[1] This reference helps one recognize the basic issue that the Krama dicta began to gain currency during seventh century. It is these scattered ideas whose crystalization into a systematic form begins by the close of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century.

3. CREATIVE PERIOD OF THE KRAMA SYSTEM- RISE AND DECAY (9-18th CENTURY)

It may now be in the fitness of things to advert to the study of the creative phase of the Krama history which one encounters in the immediate succession. It is here that one finds himself face to face with remarkable scholars and outstanding personalities like Utpala, Lakṣmaṇagupta, Hrasvanātha, Siddhanātha, Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, Utpala Vaiṣṇava and Bhāskara, etc. This community of scholars is further

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1. संकर्षिणी सप्तदशाक्षरा ।
यदुक्तं श्रीदेव्यायामले
त्रिदशैरपि सम्पूज्या विद्या सप्तदशाक्षरा ॥
कालसंकर्षिणी नाम्ना ...... ।
T.A.V., XI, p.49(Ah.29)

joined by even the persons of the eminence of Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and Ramyadeva etc. Really speaking, once the creative stream starts flowing, its current does not lose its rigour till it comes to Devabhaṭṭa. But the force of the central current is again regained after a brief pause in the personalities of Śivānanda, Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda. With Maheśvarānanda one enters into the thirteenth century. These names form the galaxy of important Krama authors in addition to numberless those who have made humbler contributions. To this period belongs the illustrious tradition of Cakrabhānu, Hrasvanātha, Bhojarāja, Somaraja and Śrivatsa who have made a hall-mark in the history of the Krama system by departing from the old rut and by making original contributions. It is the tradition which has escaped the certitude of historical accuracy for want of requisite material.

From the historical point of view, the Krama history unrolls a vast panorama that stretches from the 9th to the 18th century. There comes a lull after the 13th century and a vacuum obscures the creative arena, if any, from our sight. To be frank, period of decadence looms large with the exit of Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda. And the vacuum is only partly and sporadically filled. Only two names, e.g., Śitikaṇṭha, (1575-1625 A.D.) and Śivopādhyāya (1725-1775 A.D.) arrest our attention for their brilliant attempt to enervate and preserve the system. To this period

may be assigned Anantaśaktipāda, the commentator upon the Vātūla-nātha-sūtrāṇi, and the author of the Chummā-Sampradāya whose exact chronological status is not yet beyond doubt.

The period ranging from the 9th to the 12th century is most creative. The creative vitality is reflected by not only the number of authors and texts, but also the impact it made on the other systems. This period witnesses a big community of authors who not only share their greatness, but also enjoy blood-affiliations; and consequently, we are in the midst of not only the rich preceptorial traditions but also family traditions. In the subsequent study we shall have sufficient opportunity to expatiate upon this contention. This period evinces a positive philosophical aptitude to be replaced by deep esoteric tendencies towards decay of the system. A transitional compromise is easily perceptible among the authors flourishing towards the conclusion of the primary creative phases, e.g., Maheśvarānanda etc.

The degeneration of the system did not take place overnight. The process had started long ago. By the close of the 12-13th century, the cracks become visible in the erstwhile cemented wall of the system. One can easily feel the pressure of blowing winds in Jayaratha. His diatribe at his opponents is indicative of the fact that they had lost touch with the traditional secrets of

the system.[1] But Jayaratha's criticism is so lively and retains its contemporary flavour to such an extent that Krama was very much a living force. Even a superficial perusal would convince one of this. Similarly Śivānanda, the author of the Mahānaya-prakāśa, has castigated such people hinting at the growing ignorance of the system among the votaries of the system themselves.[2] The tendency gradually turned into a fact. Coming to Śitikaṇṭha, one finds Krama fast disappearing from the popular scene. He, at one place, bemoans the forgetful public memory.[3] The Jñānakriyādvaya-śataka, a stotra of Krama learnings and much later origin, gives a very vivid and graphic description of degeneration of the noble tenets of the system at the hands of its followers. It is a lengthy caricature (verses 37-63) and indicates how they lost any sense of the ethical proportions, social decorum

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1. अतश्चास्य स्वं गुरुक्रममजानानैरद्यतनैः ... इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत्स्वोत्प्रेदितमेव- इत्युपेद्यम् । T.A.V., III, p.193; also see तस्माददृष्टगुरुभिरपरिशीलितशास्त्रसंप्रदायैः स्वविमर्शशून्यैः देवानांप्रियैः यत् किंचिदत्रोच्यते तदुपेद्यमेव । Ibid, p.203.

2. इत्थं स्वानुभवं त्यक्त्वा ये संख्यामात्रपूरणात् ।...
स्वरूपं बोधयन्त्युच्चैः तेऽपि न ज्ञानशालिनः ॥
M.P.(T).8.186-187; also see 8.180.

3. विस्मृतं चैतत्सर्वेषाम् ......
स च सर्वेषां भावावेशेन स्मृतिपथादपगतो नष्टः स्थितः, ते तु महाजनाः - येषामित्थं गुरुमुखमाविर्भूतम् । M.P(S). p.135.

and spiritual values in pursuing their carnal, sensual, and mercenary motives.[1]

4. HISTORICAL BACKDROP OF THESE PHASES

If one reviews the Krama history against the general backdrop of the history of Kashmir, it would be clear to him that the period covering the creative phase of the Krama system is in fact reflective of the renaissance that went on in every field of intellectual activity. This period has given us many classics in different branches of learning, e.g., philosophy, poetics, religion and literature. The process of patronizing the intellectuals that started with King Lalitāditya (7th century) went unabated till the time of Jayasingh (1127-1149 A.D.) with a few exceptions. There was a great impetus for the composition of new and original works in Kashmir. Works on poetics practically commenced from the 8th century A.D. with Udbhaṭa and Vāmana. Works on the Trika system of philosophy began to be written about the same time and historical works also fall in the same period. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Firstly the literary glory and creative upsurge of Kashmir was at its peak during this period and was largely responsible for creating an

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1. As the stotra is still unpublished it is quoted in full in the Appendix

intellectually surcharged atmosphere in which nothing mean could ever raise its head or get recognition. Sociologically knowledge-seeking and intellectual activity were the uppermost values cherished by the society and individuals alike. According to the social psychology it is the social value in the sub-conscious-mind of society, that acts as a formative principle and gives a direction, depth and meaning to the cultural adventures of the age. Knowledge-seeking became the cult of the then India, not to talk of Kashmir alone. Secondly, foreign emissaries like Hiuentsang and Itsing visited India so that there was ample opportunity for exchange of ideas between the great nations like China, Persia, Greece and India. Thirdly, the Kashmir Śaivism emerged as a critique of the Vaibhāṣika and Yogācāra schools of Buddhism which had attained a high degree of intellectual advancement. Fourthly, the kings like Jayāpīḍa (779-813 A.D.) and Avantvarman (855-883 A.D.) were enlightened and generous and they kept the flame of learning ever kindled during their reign. Respect for learning, on the part of a king, was a measure of his success and popularity. Kalhaṇa has stated that during his time king Jayāpīḍa, like his remote precursor Lalitāditya, invited scholars from all parts of India in large numbers. Of Avantirarman Kalhaṇa says that during his reign Siddhas such as Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa were born for the benefit of the world.[1] King Yaśaskara, who has won the laurels

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1. अनुग्रहाय लोकानां भट्टश्रीकल्लटादय: ।
अवन्तिवर्मण: काले सिद्धा भुवमवातरन् ।। R.T. V.66.

from Kalhaṇa for his flawless administration in maintaining the integrity of the housewives, was also a patron of many a scholar. He was a senior contemporary of Abhinava (950-1020 A.D.). Vallabha, the grandfather of Karṇa who was Abhinava's favourite student, and Pūrṇa Manoratha, the first known ancestor of Jayaratha, were ministers of Yaśaskara. Similarly, in Sussala (1101-1127 A.D.) we meet a great patron of learning. Maṅkha has paid high tributes to him.[2] Practically all the brothers of Maṅkha including himself were under the employment of Sussala. Maṅkha's elder brother Alaṁkāra[3], who himself was a great patron of learning, was a high state official under Sussala. Ramyadeva and Losthala- both the Krama authors, Ruyyaka- the famous poetician, and a host of others were regular members of Alaṁkāra's literacy club. Jaya Sinha (1127-1151 A.D.), whose court poet was Kalhaṇa, moved on the footprints of his father. Maṅkha has very high opinion about him.[4] Jayaratha, obstensibly

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1. नादृश्यन्त च गेहिन्यो गुरुदारात्यदेवता: ।
   कुर्वाणा भर्तृशीलश्रीनिर्घोषं मूर्धधूननै: ॥ R.T. VI.12.

2. निवेशिते सुस्सलभूविडौजसा स्वयं गरीयस्यपि सौधविग्रहे ।
   विधाय चक्रे स्वयशोमयीं लिपिं स लेखवर्गस्य विमुद्रमाननम् ॥
   S.K.C., 3.62.

3. Kalhaṇa refers to Alaṁkāra in glowing terms.
   अलंकाराभिधो बाह्यराज्यस्थानाधिकारभाक् ।
   अघृष्यो मानुषैर्युद्धैर्विरूढान्बहुधावधीत् ॥
   Cf. R.T. 8.2658.

4. अनन्तरं सुस्सलदेवनन्दनो यमादराच्छ्रीजयसिंहभूपति: ।
   व्यधात्प्रजापालनकार्यपूरुषं रुषं वितन्वन्नविनीतजन्तुषु ॥
   S.K.C. 3.66; also see 25.61.

one of the most remarkable figures in the system, was a son of Śṛngāra-ratha, the court-minister of Jayasinha who has been probably referred to as Rāja-rāja.[1] Encouragement from the rulers and a creatively lively academic environment made Kashmir a virtual seat of learning, which bewitched scholars from every corner of the country.[2] And consequently and rightly too, an adage became afloat among the scholars that the real test of ther scholarship lay in Kashmir.

Particular mention may be made, in this connection, of the encouragement that was given to Sanskrit learning during the later part of this period (which has been called as the period of decadence) even by Muslim rulers such as King Zain-ul-Abidin, Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-1484 A.D.) and Emperor Akabar. Zain-ul-Abidin made a history by proclaiming a total ban on cow-slaughter. Hasan Shah was the patron of Śitikaṇṭha- author of the Mahānaya-prakāśa, and Śrīvara Pandita- author of the later edition of the Rāja-taraṅgiṇī. All the three rulers ordered the translations of Sanskrit works into Persian and Arabic and vice versa, so that the

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1. राजराज इति भूभुजामभूदग्रणीर्गुणिगणाश्रयः परम् ।
तां सतीसरसि राजहंसतामातनोत्किल घनागमेऽपि यः ॥
Alaṁkāra-Sarvasva-vimarśinī; p.257.

2. यद्वादिनामुत्तरदिङ्निवेशादिव श्रयन्ति प्रतिवादिवाचः ।
अनुत्तरत्वं तदनुत्तरर्द्धि श्रीशारदामण्डलमस्ति यत्र ॥
T.A.V., XII, p.429.

exchange of ideas was mutual and not unilateral. But there was a great difference between the early and final periods of the creative phase. These Muslim rulers, however, were not the rule but exceptions who gave a fillip and stimulus to Sanskrit learning in brilliant contrast to the wicked performance of the Muslim rulers in general who took it as a religious duty to destroy the culture of Kashmir; whereas in the initial period such rulers were exception as were not generous, nor enlightened. This difference among the rulers speaks by itself of the difference between the two periods.

The bright flame of classical Sanskrit tradition ultimately began to flicker and extinguish after the death of king Zain-ul-Abdin. The Hindu Society in Kashmir began to disintigrate and marked the decline of Sanskrit study. Persian language began to spread its influence. The place of Sanskrit was usurped by Kashmiri which was born afresh by a mixture of Persian and Sanskrit. Its magnificient examples are found in the pithy sayings of Lallā, Mahānayaprakāśa of Śitikaṇṭha and Chummā-Sampradāya. It is a pity that the land which was a living place of the goddess of learning succumbed to foreign influences and suffered a fall from the shock of which it has not yet recovered. But still the rich heritage that has descended through blood among the Kashmirians down to the present day is visible in the commentaries of Śivopadhyaya on the Vijñānabhairava,

of Ratnakaṇṭha on the Stuti-Kusumañjali and of Bhāskarakaṇṭha on the Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī. The first and third works speak of the original calibre of their authors. Śivopādhyāya, who is credited with the authorship of certain other works as well, flourished under the patronage of Sukhajīvana (1754-1762 A.D.), a Hindu King. With his exit the curtain is finally drawn and all intellectual activity comes to a close.

5. CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

As is logical, one may now proceed to determine the chronological status as well as examine the contribution of the Krama authors individually. Such an attempt will possibly facilitate better understanding of the system. The place of an author in the proposed treatment corresponds to his exact or approximate position in chronology. Cases of doubtful or unknown authorship have been treated along the same lines except āgamic works to which a separate sub-section has been devoted.

5-(1) VĀTŪLANĀTHA (675-725 A.D.)

Little is known about him. It is also difficult to say whether he belonged to the Siddha tradition(Siddhaugha) or the human one (mānavaugha)**. If he is a historical personality he should be placed before Niṣkriyānandanātha whose period falls

** although he is referred to as a 'Siddha'.

about 700-750 A.D., because the tradition (not the authorship) as presented in the Vatulanatha-Sutrani is traced to some Vatulanatha.[1] The main thesis, according to him, is to negate duality and uphold unity of the various categories of spiritual experience, i.e., the adorer, the adored and the adoration. He is the first author of the Sahasa school.

5-(II) GANDHAMADANA (700-750 A.D.)

He is known from a brief reference[2] where he is represented to have shown an anauthored (probably of divine origin or received traditionally) book to Niṣkriyananda while taking the latter into his personal favour. He is also said to be a Siddha, i.e., the accomplished one. The text Vatula-natha-sutra is supposed to be a detailed exposition of those teachings. Coming before Niṣkriyananda he may be placed in the vicinity of the first two quarters of the eighth century. He also subscribed to the Sahasa branch of the Krama system.

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1. श्रीमद्वातूलनाथस्य हृदयाम्भोधिसंभवम् ।
पूज्यपूजकपूजाभिः प्रोज्झितं यन्नमामि तत् ॥
Verse 3, V.N.S.V., p.1.

Vide also इह पुनः पूज्यपूजकपूजनसंबंधपरिहारेण श्रीमद्वातूलनाथादि-सिद्धप्रवरवक्त्राम्नायदृशा .... । Ibid, p.18.

2. श्रीमन्निष्क्रियानन्दनाथानुग्रहसमये श्रीगन्धमादनसिद्धपादैरकृतकपुस्तकप्रदर्शनेन या परपदे प्राप्तिरुपदिष्टा सैव वितत्य निरूप्यते । Ibid, p.4
The editor, Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, translates the word अकृतकपुस्तक "by the self-composed book". Cf. p.5 of the translation.

5-(III)NISKRIYANANDANATHA (725-775 A.D.)

During the hoary antiquity of the system Niṣkriyananda appears to be the most important author. He is the first among the four preceptorial dignities mentioned by the Pancasatika[1]. He is mentioned alongwith his consort, i.e, Jnanadipti. His importance becomes self-manifest the moment one finds at least two works ascribed to him. As has already been noted in our study of the Sahasa-school, these works are the Chumma-Sampradaya[2] and the Vatulanatha-Sutrani. It is to be noted that one does not meet such explicit acceptance of his authorship of these two works. To be more precise and exact, he may be said to be the author of the Chumma-Sampradaya, whereas he transpires to be a recipient of the Sahasa doctrine from some Gandhamadana resulting in the form of the Vatulanatha-Sutrani. His authorship of the first work is established by an irrevokable fact. According to Sivopadhyaya, he reads 'Karankiṇi' for "Karankiṇi" in the context of Mudrakrama under Vṛndacakra. In support Sivopadhyaya cites two verses

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1. T.XI,p.31 (Ah.29).

2. The work is available in Manuscript form only and happens to be in the list of the projected publications of the Research Department, Kashmir. The book is divided in about 74 sub-sections known as Kathas. Under each Katha a few verses occur in which Sanskrit verses precede those in the local vernacular. It has in all thirteen folios and bears the MS. No.151. We have made copious use of the manuscript throughout the present thesis.

from him.[1] Fortunately these verses are traceable verbatim to the <u>Chumma-sampradāya</u> which is still unpublished.[2] He also seems to have written a commentary called "Prakāśa" on it which is also in manuscript form.[3]

In this connection it is perhaps significant to remember that all these works as they are available today convey an impression of their being of much later date. This conclusion is derived from three facts, viz., (i) these works are nowhere referred to in the earlier literature. Even Maheśvarānanda and Jayaratha donot take any notice of

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1. निष्क्रियानंदनाथस्तु कराँकिण्या इति पठति - यथा

   करास्त्र्योदशाकारा: सर्वादादाभिवृत्य: ।

   श्रीं तु निर्निकेताया: संविदो देहविस्तर: ।।

   एतत्करांकिमाख्यातं तस्य ग्रासादनावृतम् ।

   निष्करँकं समुद्दिष्टं निरालम्बं परं वरम् ।। V.Bh.V.,p.67.

2. Vide C.S.(MS), folio 8.

3. The manuscript belongs to Pt.Dinānātha Yakṣa, the then head pandit of the Sanskrit Section of the Research and publication department, Jammu and Kashmir Government,Srinagar. I was not permitted to have a look into the work. But he very kindly supplied to me a transcribed copy of the colophon with which the commentary ends. It is written in Śāradā Characters. Sūtras in Prākṛta have been commented upon by Niṣkriyānanda in Sanskrit verses. The colophon reads -

   कालाकालकलाकलापविभवं संभेदयंचिद्वृत्तितो

   भित्त्वा ज्ञानमहान्धकारमभितः सम्यग्दयातत्त्वत

   उद्घाटयांशुनिरुत्तरो तरद्दशा च्छुम्माख्यसंकेतके

   भेदाभेदविवर्जिते निरुपमे प्रोच्चैः प्रकाशः कृतः

   इति च्छुम्मासंकेतप्रकाशः श्रीनिष्क्रियानन्दप्रकाशितः सम्पूर्णः ।

them; (ii) the prevalence of Prākṛta in the Chummā Sampradāya and esoteric symbolism in the Vātūlanāthasūtrāṇi are definitely later characteristics of the system; and (iii) the only other reference one gets after the Pañcaśatika is by Śivopādhyāya (18th century). The only explanation that seems plausible at this stage is that antiquity of Niṣkriyānanda is no doubt very old, and his teachings did come down to posterity unbroken, but they were consolidated and circumscribed into the form of the books at much later date. Orelse there may be two separate authors of the same name. But in the absence of any contradicting evidence, the first view seems to be more tenable. Whatever the case, he is inalienably connected with the Sāhasa subschool of the Krama system. According to Śivopādhyāya's account he held Vāmeśvarī to be the primal and absolute principle. He believed in the sixtyfour aspects of the Vṛnda-cakra, the sixtyfifth aspect being constituted by Reality itself which also passes under the name of Raudreśvarī.[1] This account tallies with what has been preserved to us in the two extant texts.

5-(IV). VIDYĀNANDANĀTHA (750-800 A.D.)

Besides the Pañcaśatika's mention of his, as reported by Jayaratha[2], complete darkenss surrounds his

1. V.Bh., pp.67-68.

2. T.A.V., XI, p.31 (Āh. 29).

identity. He is second in lineage from Niṣkriyānanda and Raktā happened to his spouse. This is all that is known about him.

It is, indeed, almost certain that he is different from the two Vidyānandas belonging to the Tripurā sect. One is the author of the famous work called <u>Artharatnāvalī</u> and other is the author of the <u>Śivārcana-candrikā</u> and <u>Saubhāgya-ratnākara</u> etc. Both of them belong to much later date[1] (the 12th and 16th centuries respectively), hence their identification with the present author is totally out of question.

5-(V). <u>ŚAKTYĀNANDANĀTHA</u> (775-825 A.D.)

Once again we seek recourse to the <u>Pañcaśatikā</u> which puts him in the third place from Niṣkriyānanda and as an immediate predecessor of Śivānanda. His spouse was Mahānandā by name. We know nothing more about him.

5-(VI). <u>ŚIVĀNANDA</u> (800-850 A.D.)

Śivānanda is the first literary figure about whom the history is less silent. Generally he is acclaimed as

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1. Vide. त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिता आचार्याः तत्कृतयश्च, B.B. Dviveda, S.S., p.25. The author has given convincing reasons to prove the lateness of the authors in question. Vidyānanda of the Krama system cannot be dragged to a latter period for that would create historical absurdities. The Pañcaśatikā was known to Somānanda (Vide. T.A.V., III, p. 194) who flourished in the first quarter of the tenth century. And it is this Pañcaśatikā that is one's sole access to Vidyānanda.

as the first systematic exponent of the school[1] and for that reason is known as "Avatārakanātha"[2] in the doctrinal circles. He, as has already been pointed out, belongs to the opening era of the ninth century. This date is arrived at from basing our calculations on the dates of Somānanda (875-925 A.D.) and Abhinavagupta (950-1000 A.D.). He is removed by two generations from the former and by five from the latter. He hailed from Kashmir, the Uttarapīṭha, which was also the seat of his spiritual initiation.[3] He also visited Kāmarūpa where he was taken into personal favour of the deities of the Jayā class.[4] The circumstances pertaining to his visit perhaps have a bearing on his relation with the Kula system, if any. He had three female ascetics as his immediate pupils who bore the burden of propounding and popularising the Krama dicta. They were known as Keyūravatī, Madanikā and Kalyāṇavati respectively.[5] In Jayaratha's time there raged a controversy with regard to the total

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1. यः शिवात्प्रभृतिसोमपश्चिमस्त्वत्क्रमैकरसिको गुरुक्रमः । C.G.C.4.121.
   अथ सा कालयोगेन शिवानन्दस्य धीमतः ।
   शिष्यस्योपादिशद् देवी चित्तत्स्य निश्चयम् ।। M.M.P., p.197.
   Also see T.A.V., III, p.192.

2. T.A.V., III, p.195, 197.

3. Ibid, p.192.

4. Ibid, p.201.

5. श्रीशिवानन्दनाथाल्लब्धानुग्रहाभ्यः ... श्रीकेयूरवती-श्रीमदनिका-श्रीकल्याणिकाभ्यः प्राप्तुवन्तः । Ibid, p.192. Vide p.195.

number of Śivānanda's actual disciples. Jayaratha quotes a verse giving out the number of his students as seventeen and refutes the same because the verse, in his opinion, does not take into consideration the two other pupils and also because there is always a possibility of his having still another student.[1] By implication there was a wide range of scholars and devotees to whom he seems to have addressed his teachings.

It is doubtful if he wrote some specific work for the propagation of Krama. It is unfortunate that his views on various philosophical questions have not come down to us except on one question, ie., the number of Kālīs to be worshipped in Anākhyā-cakra. It appears, there were two interpretations, in tune with the doctrinal demands, of his views. The tradition is interpreted by one group to mean that he advocated the number of Kālīs to be thirteen and two verses are cited from him in support of their thesis.[2] The

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1. तदेष,
क्रमकुलचतुष्टयाश्रयभेदाभेदोपदेशतो नाथः ।
सप्तदशैव शिष्यानित्थं चक्रे सवंशनिर्वंशान् ।। इति नियमो न न्याय्यः-
शिष्यद्वयस्याप्यपरिगणनात् अन्यस्यापि कस्यचिच्छिष्यस्य संभाव्यमानत्वात् ।
T.A.V.,III,p.195.

२. ननु एवं गुरुक्रमेऽप्यस्य कथंकारमिदं संगच्छताम्, यदत्र द्वादशैव एता देव्य इति, यतः श्रीमदवतारकनाथस्यापि अत्र त्रयोदशैव विवक्षिताः यः श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामपि परमगुरुत्वेन स्थितः, यदाह
एकं स्वरूपरूपं प्रसरस्थितिविलयभेदतस्त्रिविधम् ।
प्रत्येकमुदयसंस्थितिलयविश्रमरचतुर्विधं तदपि ।।
इतिवसुपंचकसंख्यं विधायसह्ज स्वरूपमात्मीयम् ।
विश्वविवर्तावर्तप्रवर्तकं जयति ते रूपम् ।। Ibid, p.197.

other group headed by Jayaratha, instead, holds the number to be twelve which, he declares, has descended to him direct from Govindarāja and cites a verse to substantiate his contention.[1] Jayaratha presents it as an irrevocable fact that the twelve goddesses alone were intended by the teacher-sage.[2] Today it is difficult to objectively determine his precise views with regard to this or that issue. This is, however, clear that the twelvefoldness of Kālīs was derived, by him, from the purely functional interpretation of the Absolutic agency. Each of the four functions namely, Emanation, Sustenance, Withdrawal and Rest, happens to enjoy three distinct phases of rise, maintenance and dissolution respectively. It may also be taken to be implied that he subscribed to the thesis of four-function doctrine (Krama-catuṣṭaya).

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1. किंतु अस्य द्वादशापि अभिप्रेता इत्यभिदध्म:, यदधिकारेण श्री-
गोविन्दराजादीनामुपदेश: प्रवृत्तो योऽस्मत्पर्यन्तमपि प्राप्त:,
यदाह

कालस्य कालिदेहं विभज्यमुनिपंचसंख्ययाभिन्नम् ।
स्वस्मिन् विराजमानं तद्रूपं कुर्वती जयसि ।।

T.A.V., III, p.198.

२. तस्मात् द्वादशधात्वमेवात्र वक्तुमभिप्रेतं सिद्धपादानाम् ।

Ibid, p.199.

A student of the Krama history is familiar with one more Śivānanda, (generally referred to by us as Śivānanda II) the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda, who belongs to a period as late as the 12th century. In the tantric history, in general, there are quite a few Śivānandas and any irresponsible identification must be avoided without proper and strong basis. Yet, one Śivānanda quoted in the Siddha-Siddhānta-paddhati[1], because of his antiquity and historical approximity, may be identical with our author. The tone of the citation also lends weight to the above hypothesis. But the suggestion has nothing more than hypothetical value at present. If such a contention has any force, it is probable that Śivānanda wrote some work or works too.

Earlier, in this very chapter[2], the identity of Śivānanda with Śrīnātha, Antarnetranātha and Jñānanetranātha has been suggested. Here one would like to consider additional evidence which could not be adduced there for want of space and relevance. The immediate transmission of the Krama tenets by Maṅgalā Devī to Jñānanetranātha[3] in Śitikaṇṭha finds a

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1. उक्तं च शिवानन्दाचार्यैः - सर्वशक्तिप्रसरसंकोचाभ्यां जगत्सृष्टिः संहृतिश्च भवत्येव, न संदेहः । तस्मात्तां मूलमित्युच्यते । अतः प्रायेण सर्वसिद्धामूलापादकता भवन्ति । Siddha-Siddhānta-paddhati, p.20, MS belonging to Saraswati Bhawan, Varanasi.

2. Vide Sec. 2-B. pp. 115-121 Supra

3. M.P.(S), p.49.

close analogue in Śivānanda's receiving the spiritual secrets from ~~Mmugkm~~ Mangalā Devī in the <u>Mahārtha-mañjarī</u>.[1] Moreover, Antarnetranātha is the first preceptor ever to be mentioned in connection with the northern seat by the <u>Mahānayaprakāśa</u>[2]. This, again, bears a close affinity to Śivānanda's relation with the northern seat.[3] Śrīnatha is said to have secured revelation of the spiritual truth at the first or original seat.[4] The caravan of corroborative facts does not stop here. Kṣemarāja has quoted from some Śrīnātha a passage containing his views about Kālī,[5] which is definitely a Krama concept. It is interesting to note that Śivānanda has also been referred to as Nātha.[6] From these premises the following conclusions can be safely drawn that-

(i) Śrīnātha subscribed to the Krama system,

(ii) he flourished before Kṣemarāja,

(iii) there is no other Śrīnatha before Kṣemarāja (except one, who is credited with the exposition of the dualistic-cum-monistic thesis and is a contemporary of Āmardaka and Traiyambaka) subscribing to the monistic tradition,

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1. pp. 99,197.
2. M.P.(T) 2.36-37
3. T.A.V.,III,p.192.
4. M.P.(S),p.73
5. यदुक्तं श्रीश्रीनाथपादैः 'श्रयेत्स्वातन्त्र्यशक्तिं स्वां सा श्रीकाली परा कला।'

S.S.Vi,p.92.

6. क्रमकुलचतुष्टयाश्रयभेदाभेदोपदेशतो नाथः।

सप्तदशैव शिष्यानित्थं चक्रे .... ॥

T.A.V.,III,p.195.

(iv) Śrīnātha[1] of Śitikaṇṭha does not appear to be different from his Jñānanetranātha[2], because of the close similarity in their relation with their Pīṭhas.[3]

(v) there is only nominal and no semantic difference between Jñānanetra and Antarnetra,

(vi) there is a strikingly close resemblance among the accounts of Śivānanda, Jñānanetra, Antarnetra and Śrīnātha, and

(vii) there is no body else than Śivānanda who could fulfil all these qualifications simultaneously before the time of Kṣemarāja.

Hence the proposition laying down their equation cannot be ridiculed as absurd and unfounded. However, this suggestion has been advanced here only as a tentative measure. About his personal life, we know nothing except that Samaya, according to the Pañcaśatika, was his spouse.

5.(VI). VASUGUPTA (800-850 A.D.)

Among the authors ascribed to this period the claim of Vasugupta must be considered, who is primarily a Trika

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1. M.P.(S), p.73.
2. Ibid, p.49.
3. पीठवरे प्राप्तादेशेन, ज्ञाननेत्रनाथेन Ibid,p.49 आदिपीठादिष्टश्रीनाथस्तु ibid, p.73.

as well as a Spanda author and is nowhere mentioned as the Krama author. But a close perusal of his *Śiva-Sūtras* as well as the *Spanda-Kārikās* would reveal his contribution to the cause of the Krama system. There are two schools with regard to the interpretation of the *Śiva-Sūtra.* Bhāskara represents one school that explains it as embodying the Spanda doctrine and divides the work into three Prakaraṇas or Prakāśas. In so doing he steps into the shoes of Kallaṭa who got the *Śivasūtras* in four divisions, the first three of which he explained by his *Spanda-kārikās* and the last one by a commentary called *Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi*.[1] Bhāskara comments on the first three chapters only. Here in his interpretations his taciturnity regarding the Krama system does not permit one to form a definite view. But the other school represented by Kṣemarāja and Varadarāja interprets the *Śivasūtras* in the light of the Trika system or, so to say, the Kashmir Śhaivism in general and divides the whole work into the three sections in accordance with the three Upāyas. Thus the second section deals with Śāktopāya which is the traditional way of presenting the Krama system. Below in footnote a few Sūtras, in addition to the second chapter, that particularly incorporate the Krama tenets are also indicated.[2] In the philosophical portion

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1. ..... चतुःखण्डानि तान्यथ ।।
व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेतेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्ततः ।
तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्याख्यटीकया खण्डमन्तिमम् ।।
S.S.V.1.4-5; also see S.S.Vi, p.130; Sp.P., p.30; I.P.V.V., II, p.30.

2. Sp.K. 1.6, 12, 17, 21, 22; 3.13, 16, 25, 27, 30, 43.

a reference has invariably been made to such portions of the Śiva-Sūtras as have the slightest bearing on the Krama system.

Similarly Kṣemarāja, who ascribes the authorship of the Spanda-Kārikās[1] to Vasugupta, presents the basic theme of the Kārikās as consisting in the enunciation of the Mahārtha doctrine.[2] We have also seen Utpala, the author of the Spanda-Pradīpikā, refering to the common features between the Spanda and Krama systems. Hence this study.

The date of Vasugupta does not present much difficulty. We know Kallaṭa was the direct disciple of Vasugupta. According to Kalhaṇa[3], Kallaṭa was a contemporary of king Avantivarman whose period of reign extends from 855 to 883 A.D. It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that Vasugupta, the teacher of Kallaṭa, belonged to the preceding generation which might have been alive and active during the first half of the ninth century.

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1. लब्ध्वाप्यलभ्यमेतज्ज्ञानधनं हृद्गुहान्तकृतनिहितेः ।
वसुगुप्तवच्छिवाय हि भवति सदा सर्वलोकस्य ॥
Sp.N.4.2; also p.3.

2. Vide Sp.N. pp.6, 74 and Sp.S., pp.11-12, 19-22.

3. R.T.V.66,

Besides the two works alluded to above, the three other books ascribed to Vasugupta are the (i) Spandāmṛta[1], (ii) Vāsavī Tīkā and (iii) Siddhānta-candrikā. The claim of the first work as an independent treatise is now rejected by the modern scholars.[2] It is supposed to be identical with the Spanda-Kārikās with difference in the title only, because the word Spandāmṛta seems to be more of a metaphorical expression. The Vāsavī Tīkā is a commentary on the Bhagvadgītā. A complete manuscript of it has not yet been discovered. The first six chapters are probably mixed up in another commentary on the Bhagvadgītā called Lāsakī by Rājānaka Lāsaka the manuscripts of which, according to Dr. Natarajan, are however available. The third work, e.g., Siddhānta Candrikā is noticed by Dr. Buhler.[3] Since Vasugupta is not an exclusive author on the Krama system, unnecessary details may be avoided.[4]

It may not be out of place to add that the Śiva Sūtras, as extant now, are known to us not in their entirety. Kṣemarāja, in his Spanda Sandoha, quotes two Śiva-Sūtras

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1. Sp.N., p.1, verse 2; S.K.V., p.40, verse 2.

2. Abhi., p.156. Vide also Contribution (M.S.) of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature, Thesis submitted to the Poona University by K.S.Nagarajan, p.329.

3. Buhler's Kashmir Report, 1877, Cat. No.501 (MSS).

4. For further reference cf. Abhi., pp.154-157; Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature, MS (thesis), pp. 296-299, 327-330.

which are not traceable to the published text.[1] Abhinavagupta also refers to one such sūtra in his Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vivṛti Vimarśinī.[2] It is possible that these Sūtras belong to the fourth division of the Śivasūtras which has not been commented upon by any author except Kallaṭa who is depicted by Bhāskara to have written the Tattvārtha-Cintāmaṇi commentary on it. A further probe into the available literature would perhaps give us a few more such Sūtras.

5-(VII). THREE FEMALE DISCIPLES OF ŚIVĀNANDA - KEYŪRAVATĪ, MADANIKĀ AND KALYĀṆIKĀ (825-875A.D.)

We have just seen that Śivānanda's immediate disciples included three female ascetics, namely, Keyūravatī, Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā[3]. As such, there is no difficulty in fixing their approximate date. All our information about them is based on an extract from the Kramakeli as preserved by Jayaratha. Till their period one does not find any trace

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1. अस्ति च शिवसूत्रम् 'सकृद्विभातोऽयमात्मा पूर्णोऽस्य न क्वापि अप्रकाशसंभव:' इति । तथा 'चिद्घनमात्मपूर्णम् विश्वम्' इत्यादिना ।

2. ब्रह्मपदे कमलशरीरस्तदुत्थप्राणिरूपेण सर्वत्र सर्वदा विचरति ।

Both quoted by M.S.Kaul, A Short Review of the Research Publications (Kashmir State), year not given , p.10.

3. पीठेश्वरीभ्य: उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथाल्लब्धानुग्रहाभ्य: श्रीकेयूरवती-श्रीमदनिका-श्रीकल्याणिकाभ्य:...।

T.A.V.,III,p.192.

of the mainstream of Krama splitting into sub-schools. Like Keyūravatī, Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā too were taken into favour by Śivānanda.[1] All of them were the guardian deities of the Pīṭha.[2] Keyūravatī, who was also called Kakāradevī[3], appears to be most important among the three. These three were responsible for imparting the Krama tenets to Śrī Govindarāja, Bhānuka and Eraka.[4] Besides this Jayaratha has preserved some more information about Keyūravatī. The historical value of the information will be determined later while discussing Cakrabhānu. In addition to these three, namely Govindarāja etc.[5], she is said to have three other disciples as well whose names are not known.[6] Yet the preceptorial traditions ensued from the latter three students. Hence they are depicted as 'Samāveśas'. It is impossible to identify these people today. At another place also from Keyūravatī down to the pupil of Cakrabhānu, sixteen generations of the Krama teachers are said to have flourished.[7] But validity of such a view is

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1. किं च श्रीमदवतारकनाथेन श्रीककारदेवीवत् श्रीमदनिकाश्रीकल्याणिके चानुगृहीते,
इत्यपि अतोऽवसितम् । T.A.V., III, p.192.

2. Fn. 3 on preceding page.

3. F.N. 1 above.

4. Ibid, p.192.

5. Ibid, p.192.

6. अत्र श्रीककारदेव्यास्तस्याः
प्रकृतमहानयशिष्याः प्रथितास्त्रयः सवंशास्तु । इति त्रय एव शिष्याः इति न वाच्यं-
श्रीगोविन्दराजश्रीभानुकयोरपि एतच्छिष्यत्वात् नवेरकनाथश्चास्याः अपि शिष्यः ।
Ibid, pp.195-96.

7. श्रीकेयूरवतीतः प्रभृति श्रीचक्रभानुशिष्यान्तम् ।
संततयोऽतिनयस्य प्रथिता इह षोडशैवेत्थम् ॥
Ibid, p.195.

somewhat dubious, because the intention of Jayaratha behind alluding to these views is to suggest the conflicting nature of hearsays with regard to one and the same person or author and impossibility of construing any definite conclusion from such a scattered mass. Nevertheless, the respect enjoyed by Keyūravatī is not compromised. This is borne out by the homage paid to her by Eraka or Naverakanātha, who enlogizes her as the Divinity par excellence.[1]

5-(VIII). KALLAṬA (825-875 A.D.)

Kallaṭa, though not exclusively belonging to the Krama school, is one of the most creative geniuses of his time. He is pre-eminently a Spanda author. The only justification for considering him under Krama lies in his valued contribution to the Krama system through the Spanda-kārikās as well as his commentaries thereon. On the authority of Kṣemarāja and Bhaṭṭa Utpala one comes to know the amount of the Krama wisdom as contained in the Spanda-kārikās. Abhinavagupta presents Kallaṭa as indirectly propounding a Krama doctrine.[2]

Being a contemporary of king Avantivarman(855-883 A.D.) his date covers the second and third quarters of the

1. यस्याः सदा खेचरिदृष्टिरोधात्सार्वात्मिकी भातिनिरन्तरोक्ता ।
तामस्मि केयूरवतीं प्रसिद्धां नमामि देवीमनिकेतसंस्थाम् ।। T.A.V., III, p. 196.

2. यदाह श्रीकल्लटः तुटिपात इति अत्र पातशब्दं सैव भगवती श्रीमत्काली मातृसद्भावो भैरवः प्रतिभा इत्यलं रहस्यारहस्येन । T.S., pp. 104-105. Vide also T.A. 10.208-212.

ninth century. Kalhaṇa calls him a great Siddha born for emancipating the suffering masses. Historically he occupies a unique position and from him ensue the two laudable traditions of the Spanda branch. One begins with Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa and is continued upto Bhāskara, who is also a teacher of Abhinavagupta, and the other starts with Mahābala and is carried upto Utpala Bhaṭṭa. Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa and Utpala Bhaṭṭa are famous for their contributions to Krama as well. Computing backwards from Abhinava (960-1020 A.D.), who is a student of Bhāskara, one arrives at exactly the same period, since five intervening generations have filled the gap from Kallaṭa to Abhinavagupta.

Kallaṭa, apart from being a spiritual and religious personality, was also a man of versatile genius and wide interests. Besides his numerous philosophical major and minor treatises he is credited with the composition of literary pieces as well. A few verses have come down to us through anthologies[1] and some other sources.[2] He also contributed his

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1. Vide Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva, Verse No.136

   किं तेन काव्यमधुना प्लाविता रसनिर्भरैः ।
   जडात्मनोऽपि नो यस्य भवन्त्यङ्कुरितान्तरा ॥

   Quoted by Dr.S.V.Singh, Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Poetry, Thesis (MS),p.78.

2. उक्तं ह्यनेनैवान्यत्र -

   गुणैरुपेताऽपि तु सिद्धविद्या कन्येव दत्ता गुणवर्जिताय ।
   सम्भोगहीना विदधात्यकीर्तिं दातुर्यतस्तत्सगुणाय दद्यात् ॥

   Quoted,Sp.P.,p.54.

mite to the Kula system as well. It is apparent from Abhinava's reference to him in a positively Kula context.[1] It is difficult to say whether or not he wrote separate treatises on Kula and Krama. But he did ventilate his views regarding problems pertaining to these systems.

Such wide erudition he could command due to his curiosity and unextinguishable thirst for knowledge. He calls himself as "a student of all" and naturally he never suffered from the dearth of people readily telling him everything. After the typical slang "every Tom, Dick and Harry", we take it, he avers that his teachership ranged from Tapana to Moṭaka.[2] Abhinavagupta quotes this verse in his Tantrāloka with slight modification[3] and admits the debt of Kallaṭa without reservation in one respect. He (Abhinava) also flanked the doors of all sorts of teachers even in branches of learning inferior to his own, out of curiosity and quest for knowledge. In this he was largely inspired by Kallaṭa's example.[4]

The salient factor behind Kallaṭa's peerless renown consists in his controversial authorship of the Spanda-kārikās.

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1. स्वशरीराधिकसद्भावभावितामिति ततः प्राह ।।
श्रीमत्कल्लटनाथः प्रोक्तसमस्तार्थलब्धये वाक्यम् ।।
T.A.29.123-124.

2. आ तपनान्मोटकान्तं यस्य मे गुरुसन्ततिः ।
तस्य मे सर्वशिष्यस्य नोपदेशदरिद्रता ।।
Sp.K.V.,p.40,verse 3.

3. T.A.13.344.

4. श्रीमता कल्लटेनेत्थं गुरुणा तु न्यरूप्यत ।
अहमप्यत एवाधःशास्त्रदृष्टिकुतूहलात् ।।
तार्किकश्रौतबौद्धार्हद्वैष्णवादीन्नसेविषि ।
T.A.13.345-46.

Controversial in the sense that the tradition has not remained unanimous in recognizing him as the absolute author of the said text. There is a group of traditional scholars who attribute the authorship of the Kārikās to Vasugupta. Kṣemarāja[1], and Maheśvarānanda[2], who closely follows on the heels of the former, treat it as a work of Vasugupta. In fact this is the heritage that they have received from Abhinava- his (Abhinava's) own statement testifies to it.[3] Abhinava and Kṣemarāja both seem to base their judgment on the authority of the following verse found in their recension as retained by Kṣemarāja in his Spanda-Nirṇaya:

लब्ध्वाप्यलभ्यमेतज्ज्ञानधनं हृद्गुहान्तःकृतनिहितेः ।
वसुगुप्तवच्छिवाय हि भवति सदा सर्वलोकस्य ॥

Sp.N.4.2.

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1. तत्र आद्यमेव सूत्रं विमृश्यते ... समस्तशास्त्रार्थगर्भां समुचितां स्तुतिमिमामुपदिदेश श्रीमान् वसुगुप्तगुरुः । Sp.S., p.3.
... स्वप्नोपलब्धोपदेशः श्रीमान्वसुगुप्ताचार्यो महादेवपर्वताद्भगवदिच्छयैव महाशिलातलोल्लिखितानि अतिरहस्यानि शिवसूत्राण्यासाद्य प्रसन्नगम्भीरैरेकपञ्चाशता श्लोकैरागमानुभवोपपत्त्यैकीकारं प्रदर्शयन् संगृहीतवान् ।... इति त्रिनिःष्यन्दमिदं स्पन्दशास्त्रम् । Sp.N.pp.1-2.

2. M.M.P.,p.8.

3. इति दर्शितं श्रीवसुगुप्तपादैः संविद्रूपात्मस्पन्दादेव उन्मेषनिमेषात: संघातविग्रहविपर्यासैः लयोदयोपलक्षितकृत्यपंचकप्रपंचसंभवं निरूपयद्भिः । I.P.V.V., II, p.312;
cp. the first Kārikā, e.g.
यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयौ ।
तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवं शंकरं स्तुमः ॥

(Sp.K.1).

Strangely enough, this verse is not found in the recension of Bhaṭṭa Utpala, author of the Spanda-pradīpikā, who ascribes its authorship to Kallaṭa. He (Bhaṭṭa Utpala) on the strength of the 53rd verse, categorically holds it to be a work of Kallaṭa. The verse runs -

वसुगुप्तादवाप्येदं गुरोस्तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनः ।
रहस्यं श्लोकयामास सम्यक् श्रीभट्टकल्लटः ॥

But, amusingly again, this verse is not found in Kṣemarāja's recension. In the beginning of his Pradīpikā [1] he emphatically asserts his position that Vasugupta revealed the Spanda secrets to Kallaṭa, who wrote a compendium in fifty verses for the sake of easy understanding by his pupils. He, in this connection, also records a slight modification in the tradition in respect of the Śiva-sūtras to the effect that the Śiva-sūtras were revealed to Vasugupta by a Siddha and not by Siva himself as held by Kṣemarāja etc.[2] Bhaṭṭa Utpala is supported by a host of scholars including Bhāskara, the author of the Vārtika on the Śiva-sūtras, and Rāmakaṇṭha who wrote a Vṛtti on the Spanda-kārikās. According to Bhāskara, Kallaṭa got

1. अयमत्र किलाम्नायः सिद्धमुखेनागतं रहस्यं यत् ।
तत्भट्टकल्लटेन्दुर्वसुगुप्तगुरोरवाप्य शिष्याणाम् ॥
अवबोधार्थमनुष्टुपपंचाशिकयात्र संग्रहं कृतवान् ॥

Sp.P., Introductory verses. This is also to be noted that Kṣemarāja talks of 51 Kārikās whereas Bhaṭṭa Utpala of 50 Kārikās.

2. See fn. 1 on preceding page.

from his teacher four divisions of the Śiva Sūtras on the first three of which he wrote his Spanda-kārikās or Spanda-sūtras , and on the last one a commentary called the Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi.[1] Probably the Spanda-kārikās, intended to be a commentary on the first three divisions, was known as Madhu-vāhinī[2]. Because both of them, according to Abhinava, are commentaries on the Śiva Sūtras and are mentioned by him in the order that conforms to Bhāskara's stand.

Thus following facts emerge from the above discussion. Both the schools concurred that -

(i) the Spanda-karikas were a commentary on the Śiva-sūtras ,

(ii) Vasugupta and Kallaṭa both are related to the Spanda-kārikās whether directly or indirectly,

(iii) Kallaṭa did write two commentaries on the Śiva-sūtras.

And the two schools disagreed with regard to -

(i) its authorship- an issue Vasugupta versus Kallaṭa,

(ii) origin of the Śivasūtras - Divine,i.e., received from Śiva, or Secular, i.e., revealed by a Siddha,

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1. श्रीमन्महादेवगिरौ वसुगुप्तगुरोः पुरा ।
सिद्धादेशात्प्रादुरासन् शिवसूत्राणि तस्य हि ॥
सरहस्यमतः सोऽपि प्रादाद् भट्टाय सूरये ।
श्रीकल्लटाय सोऽप्येवं चतुः खण्डानि तान्यथ ॥
व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेतेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्ततः ।
तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्याख्यटीकया खण्डमन्तिमम् ॥

S.S.V., pp.2-3, Verses.3-5.

2. शिवसूत्रवृत्त्योर्मधुवाहिनीतत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्योर्भट्टश्रीकल्लटपादैः ।

I.P.V.V., II, p.30.

Vide also K.S., Chatterji, pp.31, 37.

(iii) recension of the *Spanda Kārikās* - mutual black-out of the verses pertaining to authorship and their number, e.g., fiftyone or fifty in their respective recensions, and

(iv) divisions of the *Śiva-sūtras* - three or four.

On the basis of the material produced above there should be no doubt that one does not have extant today the original text of the *Spanda-kārikās.* What one has, must be an edited text - rendered and modified by the schoolmen in order to cater to their doctrinal requisites. If one sets out to locate its cause, one has to make a study in the motives of these schoolmen before he can positively conclude anything.

It has been frequently repeated that the Spanda system is nearest to the Krama for its unmistakable emphasis on the dynamic aspect of reality which technically passes under the name of Śakti or Spanda or Vimarśa. If this be granted, the *Spanda-kārikā* must propound a system that is Śākta in nature. It is why the *Spanda-kārikā*, despite the fact that it is a commentary on the *Śivasūtras* , is considered to be the Bible of the Spanda system, whereas the *Śivasūtras* are concerned with the Trika in general. According to Bhāskara, Kallaṭa directly transmitted his interpretation of the *Śivasūtras* to Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa[1] who has been ruthlessly

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1. स्वं रहस्यमप्येष मातुलेयाय चावदत् ।
श्रीमत्प्रद्युम्नभट्टाय .... ।।

S.S.V.1.6

criticized for his Śākta leaning by Somānanda[1]. In the wake of such contingency, if Kallaṭa is allowed to lay his claim to the <u>Spanda-kārikās</u>, it will be an uphill task to filter Śaiva theses from the <u>Spanda-kārikās</u>. Because that would mean leaving the Śaiva system in the hands of the Śāktas who, though kith and kin of the former, tread a different line. Hence Somānanda and his follow-travellers accepted Vasugupta to be the author of the <u>Spanda-kārikās</u> and accordingly modified their edition in so far as it threw whatever feeble light on authorship. Kallaṭa, it appears, was the original author, for the simple reason that even before Somānanda his system happens to show a marked softness to Śākta tendencies. It was for this reason that his direct disciple fell a victim to the tirade launched by Somānanda. Moreover Kṣemarāja refers to Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, who was a precursor of Abhinava and wrote a commentary on the <u>Spanda-kārikās</u> and suggests that Lollaṭa explained them in conformity with the gloss of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, whereas he (Kṣemarāja) has not always done so.[2] Even

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1. शैवदर्शनानुपपत्तिः स्वयूथ्यानाम् । S.Dr.V., p.98; also see pp.16,94-95.

   अन्यच्च यैः शक्तिवादिभिः... इत्येवमभिधानात् शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि ..

   तैरशैवत्वमात्मन उक्तम् । Ibid, pp.101-102.

   Before अभिधानात् Utpala quotes a verse from Pradyumna Bhatta's Tattvagarbha.

2. भट्टलोल्लटेनापि तदाद्यन्त इत्येवमेव व्याख्यायि स्ववृत्तौ । भट्टश्रीकल्लटवृत्त्यदा-राण्यपेक्ष्य वयमपि तद्वृत्त्यदारानुरोधेन सौत्रमर्थमतिविमलमपि क्लिष्टकल्पनया व्याकर्तुमंशिदाताः ।

   Sp.N., p.34.

elsewhere Kṣemarāja clearly professes to have taken an indpependent line.[1] In this connection it is also to be noted, to which attention has been drawn earlier too, that Abhinava - the prolific master author - did not write anything on the Spanda-kārikās in spite of his numerous reverential references to Kallaṭa.[2] This we know on the authority of Kṣemarāja. The only logical and irresistible conclusion that follows in the wake of such strong evidence, is to admit the original authorship of the Spanda-kārikās as belonging to Kallaṭa.

Besides his Spanda-kārikās which is most probably identical with the Spanda-sūtras mentioned by Bhāskara[3], which again is perhaps identical with his Madhuvāhinī, he wrote several other works. Amongst which a brief commentary on the Spanda-Kārikās known as Spanda-Vṛtti has come down to us and has been published in combined IV-Vth volumes of Kashmir series of texts and studies. What is today known as the Spanda-Sarvasva is not a different text but probably a name for the Vṛtti and Kārikas together[4]. This is clear from the

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1. स्वमेतादृशेषु चिन्तारत्नप्रायेषु श्रीस्पन्दसूत्रेषु यदन्यैः
सर्वैविवृतिकृद्भिर्व्याख्यायि यच्चास्माभिः किंचिद्व्याक्रियते तत्रान्तरममत्सरा
अनवलिप्ताश्च स्वयमेव विचिन्वन्तु सचेतसो ... । Sp.N.,p.13.

2. अनन्तापरटीकाकृन्मध्ये स्थितिममृष्यथा ।
विवृतं स्पन्दशास्त्रं नो गुरुणा नो, मयास्य तु ।। Ibid,p.77,verse 2.

3. व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेतेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्तथा । S.S.V.1.5.

4. समाप्तं स्पन्दसर्वस्वं प्रवृत्तं भट्टकल्लटात् ।
स्वप्रकाशैकचित्तत्त्वपरिरम्भरसोत्सुकात् ।। Sp.K.V.,p.40.V.1

concluding verses of his Vṛtti. Kallaṭa also makes it clear in the second concluding verse that he owes the Spanda-thesis to Vasugupta who got it in the form of Śiva-sūtras from the Lord in a dream, but the credit of bringing it before the public must go to him (Kallaṭa).[1] This statement from Kallaṭa also goes to favour the present ascription of authorship of the Kārikās to him.

Of all his Spanda works the Tattvārtha Cintāmaṇi seems to have won special favour with the later authors. Abhinava refers to it more than once.[2] Bhaṭṭa Utpala quotes it twice,[3] and Kṣemarāja also falls in line with them.[4]

On the testimony of Bhaṭṭa Utpala one is led to conclude that Kallaṭa also wrote a work named Tattvavicāra. It may, however, be added that this work has not been noticed

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1. दृब्धं महादेवगिरौ महेशस्वप्नोपदिष्टाच्छिवसूत्रसिन्धोः ।
स्पन्दामृतं यद्वसुगुप्तपादैः श्रीकल्लटस्तत्प्रकटीचकार ।। Sp.K.V., p.40, v.2.

2. T.A.10.208. Vide also T.A.V., VII, p.142; I.P.V.V., II, p.30.

3. तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणौ च -
इत्थं तत्तदनल्पमोहदलनप्राप्तस्वरूपोदये
योगी नित्यमनात्मभावविरहात्स्वात्मस्थितौ निर्वृतः ।
दृश्य-दृष्टृविवेकविद्भवपदव्यापी विमुक्तामयो
व्युत्थानेऽपि समाधिभाग्भवति सन्मोदाश्रियः कारणम् ।। इति
Sp.P., p.30.
या चैषा स्थित स्थितिः सैव तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणौ रहस्यमुद्रा इत्युक्ता ।
Sp.P., p.49 (on Sp.K.43).

4. S.S.Vi, p.138.

earlier by any author on the Kashmir Śaivism. According to Utpala, Kallaṭa is the author (Granthakāra) of the Kārikās. He has referred twice to the Tattvavicāra as another work of the author.[1] From the perusal of the quoted verses it appears to be a metaphysical treatise and an independent work, not a commentary, by Kallaṭa who gave expression to the outcome of his philosophical thinking in it.

Whatever little material we have in our possession is sufficient to indicate that in addition to his known works he attempted several other works. Attention has already been invited to his ventures in the spheres of the Kula system as well as the literature. Jayaratha, while explaining a reference by Abhinava to Kallaṭa,[2] cites three sūtras[3] and attributes them to the latter without assigning actual textual source.

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1. (a) ग्रन्थकृताप्युक्तम् तत्त्वविचारे -
शक्तिप्रसरसंकोचनिबद्धावुदयव्ययौ ।
यस्यात्मा स शिवो ज्ञेयः सर्वभावप्रवर्तकः ।। Sp.P.,p.9.

(b) ग्रन्थकृता तत्त्वविचारेप्युक्तम् -
स्वस्वभावस्थिता भावाः सम्बन्ध्यन्ते परस्परम् ।
भोग्यभोक्तृत्वभावेन न कदाचित्स्वभावतः ।।
दृष्टानुभविता स्मर्ता ग्राहको भोक्तृवेदकः ।
कर्तोपलब्धा सर्वेषां ज्ञातेति ज्ञानसंज्ञकाः ।। इति । तेन ज्ञानमेव
ज्ञेयरूपतया प्रथते इत्यर्थः ।
Ibid,p.39.

2. T.A.28.338-339.

3. देहनीलादीनां सर्वशरीरग्रहणम्, प्राणारूयनिमित्तदार्ढ्यम्, प्राक्संवित्प्राणे-
परिणता । T.A.V.,XI,p.138.

These sutras are not traceable to his extant works. The third one is definitely from the Tattvārtha-cintāmani;[1] though it is extremely difficult to say anything definitely ~~anything~~ about the source of the two others.

5-(IX). GOVINDARĀJA, BHĀNUKA AND ERAKA (850-900 A.D)

Govindarāja, Bhānuka and Eraka were the direct spiritual successors to the three female ascetics. They were contemporaries and received their lessons in Krama almost simultaneously from Keyūravatī etc.[2] With them a new element in the Krama history is introduced. The unitary current drifts into various sub-currents and the foundation of multilateral development is laid.[3] This multiplicity of traditions was kept alive till the time of Jayaratha[4]. Both Govindarāja and Bhānuka head the two rich traditions. Govindarāja taught Somānanda, while Bhānuka was responsible for founding a different line of teachers of the eminence of Ujjaṭa and Udbhata etc. Jayaratha came in this line of

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1. अतएव श्रीभट्टकल्लटेन प्राणाख्यनिमित्तदार्ढ्यम् प्राक्संवित्प्राणे परिणता इति तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणावुक्तम् । S.S.Vi.,p.138.

2. सममेवोपदेशं... श्रीकेयूरवती-श्रीमदनिका-श्रीकल्याणिकाभ्यः प्राद्भुवन्तः । T.A.V.,III,p.192.

3. श्रीगोविन्दराजश्रीभानुकादिक्रमेण बहुशाखमेवं गुरूपदेशः समस्तीति । Ibid.

4. योऽद्यापि महात्मनां महागुरूणां हृदयपथे शतशः परिपोस्फुरीति। Ibid.

teachers and was in possession of the traditional and scholastic secrets.[1]

Since, only one generation intervened between these three and Śivānanda and, since, Somānanda came in the immediate next generation, their time is almost certain. They may easily be assigned to the second half, or to be more exact, the third quarter of the ninth century.

After his spiritual enlightenment, it occured to Govindarāja that nothing worthwhile was left for him to do in view of his attainment. Thus with a spirit of dedication he gave himself till his last breath up to the task of imparting the system to the elite capable and eager to learn.[2] Toward the last moment he handed over doctrinal mystries to Somānanda.[3] He subscribed to the view that the number of Kālīs to be worshipped in Anākhya Cakra was twelve. This view had come down to Jayaratha, although he did not belong to Govindarāja's tradition.[4]

Eraka was the third pupil of Keyūravatī etc.[5]. He developed a feeling of ascetic aversion towards wordly

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1. T.A.V.,III,p.192.
2. Ibid.
3. स चेदं रहस्यं श्रीसोमानन्दाभिधानाय गुरवे संचारयाम्बभूव । Ibid.
4. अस्य द्वादशापि अभिप्रेता इत्यभिदध्मः, यदिधिकारेण श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामुपदेशः प्रवृत्तो योऽस्मत्पर्यन्तमपि प्राप्तः ।
Ibid,p.198.
5. Ibid, pp.192, 196.

enjoyments that necessarily result in pain. He, therefore, decided to keep celibate all his life and dedicate himself to spiritual emancipation of the people by means of the stotras[1] which he composed for propagating the system among the masses. Unfortunately none of his stotras could survive the atrocities of time. Only two verses of his have come down to us. In one of them he adores Kāla-saṁkarṣiṇī and describes it as an inevitable outcome of one's attaining the ultimate state.[2] In the second, he extols the spiritual attainment of Keyūravatī, his preceptor, who by virtue of her realizing the Khecarī state is said to remain in constant x unison with the cosmic reality.[3] Jayaratha has recorded a verse from some other source which speaks highly of Eraka as one having scored victory over the dualistic consciousness.[4] In fact it is a glowing tribute to his spiritual eminence. To pointout that he was an avowed celibate [5] is perhaps to imply that other teachers led a married life. He was also known as Naverakanātha[6] or Navera.[7]

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1. तदिदानीमपि निजभावगतरहस्योपदेशं स्तोत्रमुखेनापि तावत्प्रसारयन् लोकान्
   अनुगृह्णीयाम् इति । T.A.V,III,p.193.
2. श्रीमत्सदाशिवपदेऽपि महोग्रकाली, भीमोत्कटभ्रुकुटिरेष्यति भङ्गभूमिः ।
   इत्याकलय्य परमां स्थितिमेत्य, कालसंकर्षिणीं भगवतीं हठतोऽधितिष्ठेत ।। Ibid.
3. Ibid,p.196.
4. वन्दे ध्वस्तसमस्तभावविभवं श्रीमन्नवेराभिधं ।
   तं यो यत्करणौघपातविलसत्स्पर्शोदयोजृम्भते ।। Ibid.
5. सब्रह्मचारिविद्यावज्जीवं प्रपन्नलोकोद्धरणमात्रपरः ... Ibid.p.193.
6. नवेरकनाथश्चास्या अपि शिष्यः ।
7. Vide fn. 4 above.

Out of all the three known disciples of Keyūrvatī the personality of Eraka arouses some curiosity and controversy. While dealing with his own geneology and preceptorial succession in the concluding portion of the Tantrāloka, Abhinava mentions one Eraka[1] who is a Deśika (teacher) and father of a Vāmanātha. The question is whether the two can be identified. Vāmanātha is mentioned as a teacher of Abhinava and Eraka happens to his father. Eraka, is, therefore, removed by one generation from Abhinava. One has to bear in mind that the first Eraka is a class-fellow and, for that reason, a contemporary of Govindarāja and Bhānuka and hence is removed by three generations (e.g. , Somānanda, Utpala, Lakṣmaṇagupta). The other Eraka naturally seems to be a contemporary of Utpala, the grand teacher of Abhinava. It is difficult to reject the theory of Eraka's being a classfellow of Govindarāja in view of their much-insisted synchronous initiation. It is, therfore, perhaps reasonable to take the two Erakas as different.

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1. के ते गुरव इत्याशंक्याह -

सद्देशिकैरकवरात्मजवामनाथः ।

T.A. 37.60 (T.A.V., XII, p.414).

[illegible] makes proper references to [illegible] and interprets it to the [illegible] of [illegible] and not [illegible]. cf p. 128-131

5-(X). PRADYUMNA BHAṬṬA (850-900 A.D.)

In his essay on the Tripurā system Śrī Braj Vallabha Dwivedi has observed in categorical terms that the Tattvagarbha, a stotra by Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, was a Krama work.[1] The ground for his contention has been supplied by the theme of the stotra--it is addressed to Ambikā, the Mother Divine. Before the veracity of this statement is examined, a few words about the work and its author appear called for.

Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's importance may be gauged from the very fact that he has been referred to in some way or the other by every author right from Somānanda to Kṣemarāja. He was bitterly opposed by Somānanda for his Śākta predisposition inside the Śaiva fold. Utpala elucidates what has already been said by his master. Abhinava and Kṣemarāja cite him in their support.

He was a worthy student of his worthy teacher Kallaṭa and also a maternal cousin of the latter.[2] Bhāskara, in the prefatory part of the Śiva-sūtra-vārtika, gives out

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1. त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिता आचार्याः कृतयश्च, S.S., ,p.16,fn.3.

2. ... एष मातुलेयाय चावदत् । श्रीमत्प्रद्युम्नभट्टाय... ।

S.S.V.,1.6.

his preceptorial lineage as below[1]:-

Vasugupta
:
:
Kallaṭa
:
:
Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa (maternal cousin of Kallaṭa)
:
:
Prajñārjuna (son of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa)
:
:
Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa
:
:
Śrikaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa (son of Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa)
:
:
Bhāskara

Even on a cursory glance it would be obvious that he is removed from Vasugupta by a generation only. And, although he was a direct disciple of Kallaṭa, he must have been his junior contemporary too, since he was his (Kallaṭa's) maternal cousin. Between him and Bhāskara three generations intervened. Bhāskara was Abhinava's teacher.[2] On the other hand he preceded Somānanda as the latter criticizes him. Of all these Kallaṭa and Abhinava are of definite dates, hence pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's time is almost certain. He is somewhere between Kallaṭa and Somānanda. He may, therefore, be conveniently placed during

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1. S.S.V. 1.3-9.
2. के ते गुरव इत्याशंक्य आह -

   अन्येऽपि धर्मशिववामनकोद्भटश्रीभूतेशभास्करमुखप्रमुखा महान्तः।

   T.A. 37-62.

the latter half of the ninth century.

Excepting the Tattvagarbha stotra[1] no other work of his has yet come to our notice. On Utpala's authority we know that it was his work.[2] That Somānanda does not refer to anyone else except Pradyumna Bhatta becomes obvious from Utpala's treatment, though he nowhere mentions him by name. The verses that have been cited in this connection by Utpala are prefaced with the phrase "Tairuktam" (said by them[3], i.e. him"). Here "Tair" (they, i.e., he), according to him stands for the author who propounded the ultimacy of Śakti and also interpreted the Śakti-stage (state of Śakti tattva) in terms of slight swelling up (Kinciducchūnatā).[4] Besides Pradyumnabhaṭṭa none else has done so.[5] Hence, in course of Somānanda's criticims of

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1. Dr. V.S.Agrawala had told the author about the presence of one manuscript of the Tattvagarbha in the Hindu University. It was a recent find. But before the present author could have managed to look into the MS personally, Dr.Agrawal passed away. Since the whole collection, in which the MS was found, is uncatalogued as yet, it is regretted that whereabouts of the MS could not be procured to the author by the persons who were supposed to know of it.

2. सैव किंचिदुच्छूनता कथ्यते भट्टप्रद्युम्नेन तत्त्वगर्भे । S.Dr.V., p.16.

3. S.Dr. 1.16, 3.1, 3.9; S.Dr. V., p.16, 94, 101, 102.

4. यतस्तैरेव तत: परावस्थातोऽनन्तरं शक्तिदशा किंचिदुच्छूनतेत्यादिनोक्ता ततो यै: शक्ते: ~~परन्त~~ परत्वं गीयते तै: । S.Dr.V., p.95.

5. किंचिदुच्छूनता सैव महद्भि: कैश्चिदुच्यते । S.Dr. 1.16.

Utpala remarks - यदेतदौन्मुख्यं, सैव किंचिदुच्छूनता कथ्यते भट्टप्रद्युम्नेन तत्त्वगर्भे । S.Dr.V., p.16.

of the Śaktivādin, all the references and citations are deemed to be from Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, and for the matter of that, from the Tattvagarbha.

Owing to paucity of material the task of forming a well-knit view of his philosophy is rendered more onerous. Yet whatever little is available is adequate to give an idea of his mental working. The first premise of his philosophy is to reckon Śakti as the Ultimate, and yet continue to be a monist.[1] He struck to his view in spite of the odds of his Śaiva affiliations. Hence he was a Śaktivādin though he clung to the Śaiva discipline.[2] The Mother Divine, who is the Divinity par transcendence, is pure luminosity and passes under the name of Śiva also.[3] He, in a slight deviation from the general practice of identifying Śakti with Ānanda and in apparent agreement with Somānanda, equated the Śakti-category with "little swelling" which is identical with 'proneness' (Aunmukya)[4]. This Śakti-stage came just after the ultimate stage

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1. अद्वयवाद: स्थित:, पश्यन्तीविचारादनन्तरं स्वयूथ्याद्वयवादिन: प्रति इदानीम् आरम्भ: । S.Dr.V., p.94.
2. अन्यच्च यै: शक्तिवादिभि: ... इत्येवमभिधानात् शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपिसद्भि: । Ibid, p.101.
3. यस्या निरुपाधिज्योतीरूपाया: शिवसंज्ञया ।
   व्यपदेश: परां तां त्वाम्बां नित्यमुपास्महे ॥ Ibid, p.94, also p.101.
4. Ibid, fn. 5 on preceding page.

which is akin to the Mother Divine[1] - this view was used as a counter-argument by Somānanda against Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa. The latter held the absolute female principle as identical with Siva with the reservation that it was Mother Divine who was also known as Śiva. Hence, while dealing with the various stages of speech he proclaimed that there was no such form of speech as was not present in Śiva, a name of the Mother, marking the Parā or transcendental stage.[2] All the three lower aspects of speech, namely, Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī, emerge necessarily under the aegies of succession, Parā always remaining their fundamental fulcrum[3]. Likewise, he was of the opinion that the entire stretch of the category kingdom encompassing the thirtysix categories is , in essence, an unfoldment of the Śakti suggesting that the godly freedom remains inevitably inherent even in the world of logical constructions.[4] Possibly this was the recurring theme of the <u>Tattvagarbha.</u>[5]

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1. S.Dr., V., p.95.

2.3. शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि सद्भिर्वाचि एव क्रमव्यवस्थिताः पश्यन्तीमध्यमावैखरी-
संज्ञाभिर्विश्वात्मतया कल्पिताः यदाहुः

.... यावन्नोन्मेषभागणुः।
न तावदर्थं वर्तेत स चोन्मेषः क्रिया मता ।
क्रिया च नानारूपैव .... इत्युपक्रम्य
स्वभावस्थिति मुक्त्वा तस्मान्नान्यास्ति सा दशा ।
शिवे यस्या न वाग्रूपं सूक्ष्ममप्राप्तसंनिधिः।। इति.उक्तम्। Ibid,pp.101-102.

4. श्रीमद्भट्टप्रद्युम्नपादैः संविच्छक्तिप्रसरमात्रतां षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वमुपपाद्य यत्र कितत्य
विकल्पप्रतिभासनस्य स्वातन्त्र्यमुदितं, तत्र एतत् सूत्रार्थं एव सारमिति मन्तव्यम् ।

I.P.V.V.,II,p.337 on I.P.K.1.6.11.

5. अतएव श्रीतत्त्वगर्भस्तोत्रे विकल्पदशायामपि तात्त्विकस्वरूपस्य सद्भावात्

contd.....

It is, therefore, due to the force of rectitude of the reflective awareness that one is able to realize everything at will.[1] This rectitude is incumbent upon one's recognition of his powers of knowledge and action. The main plank of the adverse criticism heaped on him by Somānanda consists in the latter's stand that the position of Śiva, as the ultimate principle, cannot be compromised. To say that Śakti appears as Śiva is a statement made in a fit of ecstacy.[2] Otherwise Śakti, in utter isolation from its prius (Śaktimān), is beyond conception. Nevertheless, if Śakti with utter disregard of its substrate is thought of, the one holding such a view may be anything but a Śaiva.[3] It is argued that not only Somānanda argues against him, but he (Pradyumnabhaṭṭa) himself tacitly acquisces in the supremacy of Śiva by expounding that all the stages of speech finally culminate in Śiva.[4] However,

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...contd .) तदनुसरणाभिप्रायेण उक्तम् -

अतएव तु ये केचित् परमार्थानुसारिणः ।
तेषां तत्र स्वरूपस्य स्वज्योतिष्ट्वं न लुप्यते ।। P.Hṛ., p.49.

1. तदुक्तं तत्त्वगर्भे -
यदा तु तेऽपि सुव्यक्तस्वसामर्थ्यगुणोज्ज्वलाः ।
भवेद्दृढतरादूरदारिता दाढर्यदीनता ।
तदा च तेषां संकल्पः कल्पपादपतां व्रजेत् ।। S.S.Vi, p.126.

2. अथ शक्तेः परावस्था यैर्भक्त्या परिगीयते ।
युक्त्या प्रकाशितो देवस्ततः शक्तिदशा यतः ।। S.Dṛ., 3.1.

3. शक्तेश्च स्वतन्त्रं स्वनिबन्धनं कार्यं नान्याश्रयमिति शिवता नान्यत्र क्वचिद्भवेदिति शैवदर्शनानुपपत्तिः स्वयूथ्यानाम् ।। S.Dṛ.V., p.98.

4. अन्यच्च यैः शक्तिवादिभिः यस्यानिरुपधिर्ज्योतीरूपायाः शिवसंज्ञया। व्यपदेशः... इत्येवमभिधानात् शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि ... इत्युपक्रम्य .. 'शिवे यस्या न वाग्रूपं सूक्ष्ममप्राप्तसंनिधिः' इति तैरशिवत्वमात्मन उक्तम् ।

Ibid., pp.101-102.

the criticism by Somānanda is very brief and bereft of constructive logic. In fairness to Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, one must be cautioned that Somānanda's last plank is slightly misleading since the former has steered his position clear by recognizing Śiva as an expression for or an appellation of Mother Divine.

Let us now be back to our original question. Is Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa a Krama author? The answer is difficult indeed. According to the testimony of Bhāskara, a spiritual descendent of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, he inherited the Spanda wisdom from Kallaṭa. While discussing Kallaṭa, it was also noticed that Somānanda and his followers were rather cut-off from the Spanda school and it is the reason why one does not get any contribution from his group to the Spanda system before Kṣemarāja, Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's name nowhere appears in the later Krama literature. Moreover Somānanda himself was a man initiated in the Krama discipline, why should he criticize another Krama author? Why then he (Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa) be not treated as a Spanda author rather than a Krama author ?.

As has been said, a categorical commitment is impossible and also uncalled for. But for a fuller and better perspective one must look to the other side of the picture as well. Bháskara's observation is no doubt a limited but not a negative one. He does not reject Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's claim to Krama. Somānanda himself, before the study of the Krama system as such, was not known to be a Krama thinker. Neither he has been mentioned in the later literature as a Krama author

and nor has any work come down to us from his pen on Krama, yet he is a Krama preceptor. Moreover teachers of the early phase, excepting Śivānanda, have seldom been remembered in the later literature. Hence this argument loses much of its force. The reasons for putting forward Pradyumnabhaṭṭa as a Krama author lie in the central theme of the *Tattvagarbha* and its relatively deeper proclivity towards Krama. The *Tattvagarbha* is a hymn paying obeissance to the Cosmic Mother. Earlier it was pointed out that despite Śākta leanings Spanda considered Śiva to be the Ultimate principle, as will be testified to by the very first and last verses of the *Spanda-Kārikā*. That is, the Spanda system retained its Śaiva fervour in spite of its Śākta tendencies. But in the case of Krama the things were different. There were two distinct schools which occasionally and often necessarily entertained divergent dicta. Their most fundamental line of demarcation was drawn by their respective emphases on the Śiva or Śakti. aspects. The natural outcome of it was to treat either of them as the Supreme reality xx all other things being derived from it. Since, the school holding the supremacy of the female deity was in ascendence, Krama has also acquired the name of Devīnaya or Kālīnaya. Further, it has to be noted that there was a lot of mutual digging at between the two schools, hence criticism by Somānanda, the mouth piece of the "Śive is the Supreme"-theory, of the opposite "Śakti is the Supreme"-thesis is understandable, because in his entire chain

of argument he takes strongest objection to the supremacy of Śakti alone. In view of the above argumentation it appears that Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa belonged to the line of the Krama thinkers opposite to Somānanda's. Hence Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa's claim to the Krama authorship requires a careful examination whatever decision one may ultimately arrive at.

5-(XI). SOMĀNANDA (875-925 A.D.)

It may be recalled that Somānanda was the immediate successor of Govindarāja who, at his last moment, transmitted all the doctrinal mysteries of Krama to the former.[1] All information about Somānanda's associations with the Krama is miserably confined to this bare statement from the Kramakeli as recorded by Jayaratha. Nothing is known whether he ever attempted a work on the Krama except that Abhinava received his lessons in the Devī-Pañcaśatikā, a Krama text, from him through Utpala and Lakṣmaṇagupta.[2]

The determination of his date, although recognized to be unenigmatic by the scholars, is slightly perplexing because of a few bottlenecks in the form of at least five perceptorial traditions that invite our attention in this

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1. स चेदं रहस्यं श्रीसोमानन्दाभिधानाय गुरवे संचारयाम्बभूव ।
T.A.V., III, p. 192.

2. श्रीदेवीपंचशतिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादेभ्यः प्रभृति त्रिकदर्शनवदेव गुरवः ।
Ibid, p. 194.

behalf. On the basis of the following two parallel traditions Somānanda emerges as a contemporary of Kallaṭa[1] :-

Somānanda[2]	Kallaṭa[3]
:	:
Utpala	Mukula Bhaṭṭa
:	:
Lakṣmaṇagupta	Bhaṭṭendurāja[4]
:	:
Abhinava	Abhinavagupta.

The truth of this tradition is further corroborated by a statement of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, the commentator on the Śāradā-Tilaka, wherein Somānanda is represented as a direct disciple of Vasugupta[5]- one simply has to recollect that Kallaṭa, too, is an immediate student of Vasugupta. But the greatest anomaly entailed by such an admission would jeopardise the dates of Śivānanda, Keyūravatī etc. Because according to the original calculation they were loosely contemporary of Vasugupta and Kallaṭa respectively. However both these traditions agree with

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1. Abhi., pp.160-161.

2. त्र्यम्बकप्रसरसागरशायिसोमानन्दात्मजोत्पलजलक्ष्मणगुप्तनाथः ।

T.A.37.61.

3. भट्टकल्लटपुत्रेण मुकुलेन निरूपिता ।
सूरिप्रबोधनायेयमभिधावृत्तिमातृका ॥

and श्रुत्वा सौजन्यसिन्धोर्द्विजवरमुकुलात् ।

Quoted from Bhaṭṭendurāja's commentary on the Kāvyalaṅkara-Sāra and Mukula's Abhidhā-Vṛtti-Mātṛkā, Abhi.,p.137.

4. भट्टेन्दुराजचरणाब्जकृताधिवासहृद्यश्रुतोऽभिनवगुप्तपदाभिधो हम् ।

Dh.L.I., Quoted, Abhi,p.11.

5. श्रीकण्ठं वसुमुन्तं वसुगुप्तं सोमानन्दं तथोत्पलाचार्यम् ।
लक्ष्मणमभिगुप्तंवन्दे श्रीक्षेमराजं च ॥

S.T.V.,I,p.7.

regard to a gap of two generations subsisting between Somānanda and Abhinava or that of three generations between Vasugupta and Abhinava. Since Kallaṭa's date is fixed owing to his flourish during the reign of Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.), there should not be a gap of more than fifty years between Somānanda and Abhinava, implication being that Abhinava should be placed somewhere 900-950 A.D. in stead of 950-1000 A.D., his commonly agreed date. Abhinava's accepted date is further established by the fact that he belonged to the next generation of King Yaśaskara who ruled in 939 A.D. and the grandson (i.e., Śūra) of whose minister Vallabha was Abhinava's student. Hence Abhinava's date cannot be stretched back. Let us see how one can emerge from this dilemma.

The other three traditions, given below, widen the gap between Abhinava and Kallaṭa by at least four generations in place of two as noted above. These traditions are :

4 Mahābala	Mahābala[1]	(Vasugupta)
:	:	:
Ācarya Pandit	Trivikrama[2] (grandson of Mahābala on daughter's side)	(Kallaṭa[3])
:	:	:
Śrīkṛṣṇa	Bhaṭṭa Utpala (author of the Spanda Pradipikā)	Pradyumnabhaṭṭa (maternal cousin of Kallaṭa)
:	:	:
Lakṣmaṇagupta	(Abhinava)	Prajñārjuna
:		:
Abhinava		Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa
		:
		Śrīkaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa
		:
		Bhāskara
		:
		Abhinava

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1. अतश्चास्मत्पितुर्मातामहाचार्येण महाबलेन यथार्थनाम्नः क्रोधे इत्यादिनोक्तो विभवोदयो रहस्यस्तोत्रे । S.P., p.3.
2. नारायणास्थानज उत्पलाख्यस्त्रिविक्रमाख्यस्य सुतोऽग्रजन्मा । Ibid, concluding verse.
3. S.S.V., 1.3-9.
4. S.T.25.83-86.

Among these family or preceptorial trees, the one ranging from Kallaṭa to Bhāskara (Abhinava's teacher) involves at least three intermediary generations even if one takes Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, Kallaṭa's first disciple, as the former's contemporary by virtue of the latter's being his maternal cousin. We have already seen Somānanda criticising the view and work of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa and he must have taken time in attaining eminence of the kind that he was thought worthy of Somānanda's criticism. Thus Somānanda is bound to be a junior contemporary, if not a successor, of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa, who himself was a disciple of Kallaṭa. In the other generation ranging from Mahābala to Lakṣmaṇagupta, the celebrated teacher of Abhinava in Krama and Pratyabhijñā, the latter is separated from the former by two generations or Abhinava, for that matter, by three generations. This distance between Mahābala and Abhinava is substantiated by yet another tradition starting from Mahābala and coming upto Bhaṭṭa Utpala, who happens to be a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇagupta on the basis of the temporal equation of the two exactly parallel lines. If these latter twin traditions are correct - they ought to be correct because they come from different sourses and yet speak the same thing - , Somānanda being the grand-teacher of Lakṣmaṇagupta must be a contemporary of the latter's grand-father, Ācarya Pandit, and may at best be a successor to Mahābala or a junior contemporary. Stretching the present logic a little further one may conclude that Mahābala himself

was Kallaṭa's successor or in any case a contemporary of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa.

But one should not feel baffled because such a complex analogue is found even within the traditional account of the Krama system itself. It has been made absolutely clear that Bhānuka was a contemporary of Govindarāja, teacher of Somānanda in Krama, and was at the head of the tradition which had immediate successors in Ujjata and Udbhaṭa. This Udbhata was perhaps identical with one mentioned by Abhinava as his teacher, thus the gap between Bhānuka and Abhinava has been further shrunk from three to two generations, if one abides by the first two traditions mentioned in the beginning.

In the face of such yawning incongruities it is difficult to give a year to year account. One has to make allowance for marginal errors in calculations because the requisite material is not available in its entirety. Keeping this in view, it will be found that barring the scope of minor adjustments always, our basic stand with regard to respective dates needs not be revised. Because, though twenty-five years are allowed for a generation by the historians, one's actual age has no fixed span and may even cross the barriers of middle age or long age. Abhinava himself was known to have enjoyed a long life, going beyond eighty years. Likewise, Mahābala taught Trivikrama, his grand-son, implying

the old age of the former. In view of all these considerations Somānanda seems to have enjoyed a fairly long life. Moreover, he was a very junior, if at all, contemporary of Kallata whose successors in literature too must have enjoyed a considerably long age, otherwise the two generations on the one side and the four on the other covering the same expanse of time is beyond logical comprehension. Here, in this study, twentyfive years have been allowed for each generation for computing one's period and date without prejudice to one's other claims. This practice has additional advantage of making allowance for long age as well. Somānanda, therefore has been assigned to the last quarter of the ninth and the first of the tenth century. This period is always open to minor revisions as researches proceed to make headway.

He is known to have written several works. But only the incomplete text of the Śiva Dṛṣṭi is extant today. One of his minor works, ie., Śākta-vijñāna has also been brought out by the Research Department of Kashmir Government. His other two works, both commentaries, are known from references only. One of them is said to be on the Śiva Dṛṣṭi - this view has however been rejected by Dr. Stein. The other was on the Parā Triṁśikā according to the statements of Abhinava[1]. Let us now switch over to other authors.[2]

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1. P.T.V.,pp.16, 52, 59, 63, 87-90, 92, 95, 201.

2. For further details cf. Abhi.pp.135-137, 161-62, 146-47.

5-(XII). UJJATA (875-925)

As has already been observed, he came in the line of Bhānuka and the tradition that began with him came intact upto Jayaratha.[1] As an immediate successor to Bhānuka, he is supposed to be contemporaneous with Somānanda. We are completely ignorant about the other aspects of his personality.

5-(XIII). UTPALA (900-950 A.D.)

There is nothing in the works of Utpala himself that may induce one to include him among the Krama authors. It is Jayaratha on whose account one knows that Abhinava received the Krama education from the same set of teachers which imparted to him the lessons in the Trika system.[2] In fact one does not get anything in the form of a tangible contribution, earlier than Abhinava, from the line of spiritual teachers as running from Govindarāja. He is credited with having produced as many as eleven works, namely, (i) Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā, (ii) Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vṛtti, (iii) Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-ṭīkā or vivṛti, (iv) Śiva-stotrāvalī, (v) Ajaḍa-pramātṛ-siddhi, (vi) Īśvara-siddhi, (vii) Īśvara-siddhi-vṛtii, (viii) Sambandha-siddhi, (ix) Sambandha-siddhi-

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1. द्वितीयोऽपि क्रमास्त । तस्यैव चैषा श्रीमदुज्जटोद्भटादिनानागुरुपरिपाटी-प्रदर्शितसंततिः यत्प्रसादासादितमहिमभिरस्माभिरेतत् ।. T.A.V., III, pp. 192-93.

3. Ibid, pp. 192, 194.

vrtti, (x) Vrtti on Somananda's Siva Drsti, and (xi) Paramesa-stotravali. Except works Nos.(iii) and (xi) all the works have been handed to us either in full or in fragments. Work No.(iii), i.e., Isvara-pratyabhijna-tika or Vivrti was[1] supposed to be a large commentary whibh was later commented upon by Abhinava under the title of Isvara-pratyabhijna-vivrti-vimarsini. The catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Library, Mysore mentions one Isvara Pratyabhijna Vyakhya by Utpala Deva. The MS. is numbered (B167) A 133Pa and is bound in one with the Isvara-pratyabhijnanavaya-dipika by some Mahesvara Nathananda. It is not known if it is identical with the Tika in question.[2] Work No.(xi) is noticed by Dr. Bühler in his Kashmir Report as MS No.458. But probably this is identical with his Siva-stotravali or Stotravali. The published edition contains twenty stotras and it is important to note that stotras Nos. 2,3, 8,17 and 20 have enough material that contains the Krama undertones.[3] Particularly the 8th and 17th are most conspicuous by their overt Krama propensity.

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1. I.P.V. 1.3.

2. Similarly there are two MSS numbered 466 and 464 of 1875-76 and described as Pratyabhijna-vimarsini and Pratyabhijna-Brhati vimarsini by Utpala and Abhinava respectively at BORI, Poona.

3. Vide, for instance, S.St.V., pp. 32, 48 , 106, 199, 206, 296, 300, 303, 340, 346 etc.

There are indications that Utpala perhaps attempted several other works also. A manuscript entitled as "Mantrasāra" No.501 of 1895-98, BORI, Poona ascribed to Utpala Deva[1] has come to our notice. The MS in all has 11 pages and 21 folios. It abounds in scribal errors and has later, from p.8 onwards, been mixed with some portions of Kṣemarāja's Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya. But the original work differs from the latter. It seems to be a commentary on the Parā-triśikā and contains an account of successive emergence of Sanskrit alphabet with its symbolic mysticism and descriptive definitions of various categories followed by a discussion on Guṇa, Substance and various types of subjects (Pramātṛs). These lines refrain from drawing any premature conclusions as to its authorship except advancing the hypothesis for future scrutiny.

Utpala's probable date does not present any problem. He being the pupil of Somānanda and the grand-teacher of Abhinava may safely be assigned to the first half of the tenth century.

But before one passes on to the next item it appears advisable to clear up a general misunderstanding with regard

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1. सदागमप्रवाहेण बहुधा व्याकृतं त्रिकम् ।
श्रीमदुत्पलदेवीयं मंत्रसारं तु(व)र्ण्यते ।।

MS, folio 1a, opening verse no.2.

to his geneology among the modern authors on the subject.

According to them Utpala was both the son and pupil of Somānanda.[1] Besides, he was the father and teacher of Lakṣmanagupta.[2] This lineage is said to have been derived from Abhinava's own statement :

त्रैयम्बकप्रसरसागरवीचिसोमानन्दात्मजोत्पलजलक्ष्मणगुप्तनाथः । [3]

/Somānanda, his son Lakṣmaṇagupta and his son Utpala were like waves in the ocean of the lineage pertaining to Tryambaka/. The conclusion seems to be in order on the face of Abhinava's statement.

But if one accepts it, one is trapped in another anamalous situation. Utpala himself names his father as Udayākara in the last verse of his <u>Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā</u>[4] and refers to Somananda as his great and illustrious teacher.[5] If Somānanda was his father as alleged above, he

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1. Abhi.,p.162; Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature, thesis (MS), p.335.

2. Ibid, p.7,164, ibid, p.340.

3. T.A. 37.61.

4. जनस्यायत्नसिद्धयर्थमुदयाकरसूनुना ।
   ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञेयमुत्पलेनोपपादिता ॥ I.P.K.4.1.18(Bhās.II,p.315).

5. इति प्रकटितो मया सुघट एष मार्गो नवो
   महागुरुभिरुच्यतेस्म शिवदृष्टिशास्त्रे यथा ॥ Ibid,4.1.16,p.309.

could have utilized the opportunity to assert the same. In addition, Abhinavagupta commenting on the last Kārikā does not dispute Utpala's version but readily confirms the same.[1] Even on the issue of his son he has not kept mum and gives out his name as Vibhramākara whose pursuasion impelled Utpala to undertake the commentary on the Śivadṛṣṭi.[2] Had the truth been otherwise, Utpala would not have failed to mention Lakṣmaṇagupta as his son, who was infinitely more illustrious and intelligent than Vibhramākara. Here again he implicitly refers to the author of the Śivadṛṣṭi as his guru. There was all the more reason to refer to Lakṣmaṇagupta in this context, because it was the latter who initiated Abhinava into the Śivadṛṣṭi. And if Utpala be accused of misleading the posterity, Abhinava had the opportunity to make corrective amends which he did not do. There is an additional collateral evidence to substantiate the present contention that Lakṣmaṇagupta was not Utpala's son. According to the Śāradātilaka Tantra he was the son of some Śrīkṛṣṇa, grandson of Ācārya Pandita and great-grand-son of Mahābala.[3] This point would be examined in detail when we discuss Lakṣmaṇagupta.

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1. उदयाकरपुत्रः श्रीमानुत्पलदेवोऽस्मत्परमगुरुरिदं शास्त्रमकार्षीत् ।

I.P.K.4.1.16, p.316.

2. विभ्रमाकरसंज्ञेन स्वपुत्रेणास्मि चोदितः ।
पद्मानन्दाभिधानेन तथा सब्रह्मचारिणा ॥
ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञोक्तविस्तरे गुरुनिर्मिते ।
शिवदृष्टिप्रकरणे करोमि पदसंगतिम् ।

S.Dr.V.,p.2,v.Nos.2 and 3

3. S.T. 25.83-86.

Then, should Abhinava be held guilty of misguiding the people by his statement on which the conclusion at issue is based? It is not the case. In fact, Abhinava is here alluding to his teachers[1] and is discussing their 'Santati-krama' (lit., geneology) which as a technical expression stands for their preceptorial lineage, implying that the unity of a tradition depends upon the extent of its continuity. Anybody falling under that tradition would be known as Santāna of his spiritual predecessor.[2] Purity and exclusiveness of a preceptorial tradition is deemed to be a very sacred affair in Kashmir Śaivism.[3] Thus the expression 'Ja' in the words 'Somānandātmaja' and 'Utpalaja' is figurative and not literal. This will be apparent from a perusal of Abhinava's statement in full, because his sole intention is to refer to all the four traditions of Kashmir Śaivism pertaining to Ānanda, Śrīnātha, Tryambaka and the fourth school.[4] Moreover, all doubts on this score have been set at rest for good by Jayaratha who interprets the phrase "sons of Somānanda" used by Abhinava[5] as "pupils

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1. के ते गुरव इत्याशंक्याह । T.A.V.,XII,p.414.
2. यावानस्य संतानो गुरुस्तावत्स कीर्तितः । T.A.1.235.Jayaratha remarks संतानः शिष्यप्रशिष्यादिरूपः । T.A.V.,I,p.252.
3. तादात्म्यप्रतिपत्त्यै हि स्वं संतानं समाश्रयेत् ॥
भुञ्जीत पूजयेच्चक्रं परसंतानिना नहि। T.A.1.268-69.
4. आनन्दसंततिमहार्णवकर्णधारः सद्देशिकैरकवरात्मजवामनाथः ।
श्रीनाथसंततिमहाम्बरघर्मकान्तिः श्रीभूतिराजतनयः स्वपितृप्रसादः ॥
त्र्यम्बकप्रसरसागरशायिसोमानन्दात्मजोत्पलजलक्ष्मणगुप्तनाथः ।
तुर्याख्यसंततिमहोदधिपूर्णचन्द्रः श्रीसोमतः सकलवित्किल शंभुनाथः ॥
T.A.37.60-61.
5. दाशमाधारमिमं प्राहुः श्रीसोमानन्दपुत्रकाः ॥ T.A.3.85.

of Somānanda such as Utpala etc."[1] The mistake in taking Somānanda as Utpala's father and Lakṣmaṇagupta as his son appears to have crept in due to interpreting the word Ātmaja and Santati in their literal sense. Thus Utpala's parental and preceptorial traditions would take the following forms respectively :-

Udayākara
:
Utpala
:
Vibhramākara

Somānanda
:
Utpala
:
:
Lakṣmaṇagupta — Padmākara

5-(XIV). UDBHAṬṬA (900-950 A.D.)

He is supposed to be the grand pupil of Bhānuka and successor to Ujjaṭa. It is a matter of guess if he ever wrote on the Krama system, but there is no doubt about his being a repository of the tradition that was kept intact upto Jayaratha. Besides him, there are two other Udbhaṭas as well. One came pretty early and was described as the Sabhāpati of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.) by Kalhaṇa.[2] He was a great poetician. The other Udbhaṭa, in question, is one mentioned by Abhinava as his teacher.[3] Of these two, the latter

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1. तमेतं दार्शमस्य संवित्स्वातन्त्र्यस्य आधारं विषयं श्रीसोमानन्दस्यानुकम्प्याः पुत्राः श्रीमदुत्पलदेवप्रभृतयः शिष्याः प्राहुः - आचदात इत्यर्थः ।
T.A.V., II, p.95.

2. R.T. 4.495.

3. अन्येऽपि धर्मशिववामनकोद्भटश्रीभूतेशभास्करमुखप्रमुखा महान्तः ॥
T.A. 37.62.

may be identified with the Krama author. However, this personality-equation is being advanced as a tentative measure, for Jayaratha actually reads Udbhaṭṭa and not Udbhaṭa.[1] But this might be due to scribal mistake also. If this equation be granted, he must have been of fairly advanced age when Abhinava approached him for instruction. He may also be placed in the first half of the tenth century.

5-(XV). STOTRAKĀRA, i.e., SIDDHA NĀTHA (900-950 A.D.)

The authorship issue of the famous Krama stotra is a crucial question in the history of Krama thought. The tantric history has recorded the presence of about four Krama-stutis. One is attributed to Śaṁkara, son of Kamalākara, and is taken note of by Kaivalyāśrama in his Saubhāgya-vardhinī on the Ānanda Laharī[2]. The other is a work of Abhinavagupta and was composed in the year 990-991 A.D. which will be dealt with during our treatment of Abhinava. Uncertainty prevails about the third Krama Stuti a reference to which has been made by Monier Williams under the word "Krama" in his dictionary without giving further details or source of information. The fourth is one in question whose authorship is the subject-matter of the present enquiry. We are not aware if the third

1. T.A.V., III, p.192.

2. S.L.(Madras Edn.), pp, 13, 45.

and fourth works are one and identical. The first Krama Stuti is presently beyond our scope owing to its adherence to the Tripurā system. The third, too, is left out in the absence of necessary and relevant data. Hence we concentrate on the fourth Krama Stuti whose author is yet a matter of speculation.

The traditional account is silent even on the bare details of the author. He is always described and presented as the Stotrakāra.[1] Since the questions of his identity and date cannot be investigated in isolation from each other, the only course open is to treat them together.

The earliest author who refers to the Krama-stotra is Abhinavagupta himself who, on his own information, wrote a commentary on it called Kramakeli.[2] His date is definite, i.e., second half of the tenth century, and he himself composed a Krama-stotra emulating his precursor's example during the year 990-991 A.D.. Therefore, the lower limit of the Krama Stotra is set by the date of Abhinava. It must have been composed prior to 950-975 A.D.. A dive into Jayaratha's account would reveal that various commentaries had come up by his

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1. एतदाशयेन श्रीस्तोत्रकारस्य पूजाक्रमः । T.A.V., III, p.191.

2. P.T.V., p.236.

time and certain doubts were being raised about its precise content and number of verses comprising it. Different interpretations were advanced and a state of confusion tends to overtake us. Jayaratha draws our attention to at least two such expositions.[1]

The other cue in Jayaratha's treatment traces the traditional line of the Stotrakāra in descending order as the Author of the Stotra, Bhāskara and Kuladhara[2]. Of these, Bhāskara is comparatively familiar figure and is perhaps the same as Abhinava's teacher of the same name. This possibility gains firmer ground in view of the absence of any other Bhāskara prior to Abhinava. Since the Stotrakāra preceded Bhāskara, he must belong to the first quarter or the first half, in any case, of the tenth century. In other words, his date should not be later than Bhāskara's. This is the time to which Lakṣmaṇagupta and Śambhunātha, Abhinava's teachers in Krama and Kula respectively, belonged. On the other hand, the upper limit of the Krama-stotra does not extend beyond Eraka who, as a contemporary of Govindarāja and Bhānuka, is assigned to the third quarter or the second half of the ninth century.

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1. इत्यत्र विवरणकारान्तरसंमत एव पाठ इति । T.A.V., III, p.202.

विवरणकारान्तर implies the presence of two distinct commentaries.

2. श्रीस्तोत्रकारभास्करकुलधरपूर्वासु संततिषु । Ibid, p.191.

Because, the first ever credit of writing the stotras in the Krama history goes to Eraka, who made it a mission of his life to popularise the Krama system through his stotras. Hence the probable time of the Krama-stotra and, for this matter, its author must fall somewhere within 850 to 950 A.D.

From the tentative fixation of the probable period of the Stotrakāra, let us now proceed to discover the identity of the author. The Cidgagana-candrikā, which on its own authority is a commentary on the Krama-stotra, attributes the authorship to some Siddhanātha[1] or Siddhinātha[2]. There is no reason whatsoever to deny the account as furnished by the Cidgagana-candrikā. Now, according to Pṛthvīdharācārya, the author of the Bhuvaneśī-stotra, Siddhinātha and Śambhunātha are the two names of one and the same individual.[3] During the projected period (850-950 A.D.) only one Śambhunātha is known to the history of Tantric monism. He is the most esteemed teacher of Abhinavagupta whom he initiated into the Kula system and guided along the path of final emancipation. It is of course

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1. सिद्धनाथकृततत्क्रमस्तुतेः कालिदासरचितार्चिपंचिकाम् । C.G.C.4.126.

2. पूर्णपीठकृतं सिद्धेस्तद्भावस्तवमादरात् । Ibid, 4.133.

3. श्री सिद्धिनाथ इति कोऽपि युगे चतुर्थे प्राविर्बभूव करुणावरुणालयेऽस्मिन् ।
श्रीशंभुरित्यभिधया स मयि प्रसन्नं चेतश्चकार सकलागमचक्रवर्ती ॥
Sribhuvanesi-mahāstotram, Verse No.37. Also see,
श्री शंभुनाथ । करुणाकर । सिद्धिनाथ ।
श्री सिद्धिनाथ । करुणाकर । शंभुनाथ ॥ Ibid, verse no.40.

interesting to note that the first concluding verse of the Tantrasāra echoes Pṛthvīdharācārya's depiction of Śambhunātha not only in import but in choice of diction too.[1] This has been the main plank of A.Avalon, the editor of the Cidgaganachandrikā, in identifying the two.[2]

But let us be careful. The odds against this personality-equation are equally heavy. First, Śambhunātha is famous for his teachings in the Kula system and not in the Krama. Though it is not unusual for a Kula-teacher to be proficient in some other cognate philosophical system also, Abhinava, who is so scrupulous in mentioning the minutest possible details about his teachers, should not have failed to record this aspect of his teacher's personality. Secondly, this Siddhanātha alias Śambhunātha of Pṛthvīdharācārya should necessarily precede the latter as it is the latter who refers to the former. As we know, Pṛthvīdharācārya came in the tradition of the Śaṁkarācāryas. The manuscript of the Bālārcanavidhi[3] in the Bombya Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society gives out the preceptorial lineage of the Śṛṅgerīmatha in this sequence – Gauḍapāda, Govinda, Śaṁkarācārya, Pṛthvīdharācārya, Brahma Caitanya, Ānanda Caitanya etc. etc. Thus Pṛthvīdharācārya is

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1. श्रीशंभुनाथात् करुणारसेन स्वयं प्रसन्नादनपेतवृत्त्या ।
काश्मीरिकोऽभिनवगुप्तपदाभिधानः श्रीतन्त्रसारमकरोद् ऋजुना क्रमेण ॥

2. C.G.C.,Introduction(English), p.3.

3. MS.No.851. Referred to by Gopal Rai Bahura, the editor, Bhuvanesimahastotra, Introduction,p.13.

placed next to the first Śaṁkarācārya who is assigned to the close of the 8th century.[1] As Śaṁkara died early, Pṛthvīdharācārya's period too falls in the vicinity of his predecessor's. Therefore his date cannot be stretched beyond the first quarter and, at any rate, the second quarter of the ninth century. Hence Śambhunātha of Pṛthvīdharācārya transpires to be a contemporary of Śaṁkara. But Śambhunātha, the teacher of Abhinava, cannot be placed back beyond the first half of the tenth century. In fact, in view of his being Abhinava's teacher, he need not be pushed back beyond the second quarter of the tenth century. Thirdly, Padmanābha the commentator of the Bhuvaneśī-stotra interprets the word Varuṇālaya as standing for a village on the banks of Narmadā[2], whereas Abhinava's teacher hailed from Jālandhara.[3] Moreover, it has also been noted that the upper limit of the stotra cannot be extended beyond the latter half of the ninth century on the basis of the historical premises of the Krama system. In the wake of these discrepancies it is fraught with grave misgivings to identify the two Śambhunāthas. It may, therefore, be firmly

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1. शंकराचार्यप्रादुर्भावस्तु विक्रमार्कसमयादतीते ८४५ पंचचत्वारिंशदधिकाष्टशतीमिते संवत्सरे (=782 A.D.) केरलदेशे कालपीग्रामे शिवगुरु शर्मणो भार्यायां समभवत् । Ārya-vidyā-sudhākara, 4th Chapter, pp.226-27. Quoted, ibid, p.14.

2. Vide करुणाया युक्ते वरुणालये ग्रामविशेषे नर्मदानिकटवर्तिनि ।
Bālabodhinī on the Bhuvaneśī-mahāstotram, p.25.

3. श्रीमान् शम्भुरिति प्रसिद्धमगमज्जालन्धरात्पीठतः । T.A.V., I, p.236.
It is difficult to identify the exact location of the Jālandhara Pīṭha. However, this is sure that this it is outside Kashmir

held that the two are two different persons and the editor of the Cidgagana-candrikā has been misled by the identity of names.

But the author of the Cidgagana-candrikā is perfectly right when he names one Siddhanātha to be the author of the Krama stotra. Fortunately the name of one Siddhanātha in the annals of the Kashmir Śaivism has come down to us and, for this, our thanks go to Bhaṭṭa Utpala, whose Spanda Pradīpikā has proved to be a mine of information so far as the early phase of the Krama history is concerned. According to Bhaṭṭa Utpala, this Siddhanātha was the author of the work entitled "Abhedārtha Kārikā from which a passage has also been cited.[1] Since Bhaṭṭa Utpala is a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇagupta, Siddhanātha may be said to have belonged to any generation earlier to Bhaṭṭa Utpala's. But we are not required to go back farther. Because according to the Krama tradition, recorded by Jayaratha and referred to earlier, Bhāskara, the teacher of Abhinava, is an immediate successor to the Stotrakāra. Hence Siddhanātha, who is now identified with the Stotrakāra, may in all probability have flourished during the first half of the tenth century and be, therefore, placed somewhere during 900-950 A.D..

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1. प्रोक्तं चैतत् सिद्धनाथेन अभेदार्थकारिकासु -

 वस्तुनो भावशून्यस्य त्वग्राह्यस्य निराकृते: ।
 कल्पनामात्रमेवैतत् यच्छिवव्यपदेशनम् ।।
 नेत्थं विभोर्विवर्तोऽस्ति परिणामश्च न क्वचित् ।
 अथवा द्वयमप्यस्तु तथाप्यस्य न खण्डना ।। इति ।

Sp.P., p.4.

It is by a happy chance that the Krama-stotra, almost complete, has almost survived to this date in the pages of the Viveka of Jayaratha.[1] In all about twelve verses are accessible. But the chances are that it contained a few verses more, because, sometimes two verses in stead of one were addressed to certain Kālīs, for instance, Rudrakālī and Yamakālī.[2] Coming to the contents of the Krama-stotra we see that there was correspondence in the root idea between the Krama-stotra and the Pañcaśatika, though they disagreed in one field. While the Pañcaśatika retained the name of Sukālī in the list of Kālīs to be adored and thus maintained the total number of Kālīs at thirteen[3] in Anākhyacakra, the Krama stotra excluded Sukālī and numbered them twelve. Jayaratha also pointed out a misunderstanding current in a section of followers that the Krama-stotra followed the Krama Sadbhāva[4] in its treatment of the Kālīs in Anākhya cakra. Jayaratha rejects any such possibility and holds, instead, that it did emulate some āgama unnamed but quoted by him.[5] It diverged from the Sārdhaśatika

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1. T.A.V., III, p.158, 160, 165, 167, 169, 173, 178, 181, 183, 185, 187, 202.

   A collection of these verses with the Hindi translation has now been published by Sri Laksmana Joo under the caption "Krama-naya-Pradīpikā".

2. Cf. T.A.V., p.III, p.202.

3. Ibid, p.189.

4. Ibid, p.191.

5. Ibid, p.162.

regarding the order of the Kālīs. While Sārdhaśatikā, as elsewhere, discusses Sthitikālī after Sṛṣṭikālī, the Kramastotra takes up Raktakālī first in lieu of Sthitikālī. The primary object in doing so is to present the real Saṁvitkrama. No incongruity attaches to it. Since, in the āgama the order is modified or reversed so as to conceal the Saṁvitkrama as is done in the Pañcaśatikā with regard to the Sthitikrama. It is in sequel to this that the 'Order of Worship' (Pūjana-krama) is ordained by the teachers. With a view to effectively establishing and presenting the Saṁvitkrama the actual order of Kālīs has been preserved and retained in the Krama-stotra aswell as the Tantrāloka . Abhinava, according to Jayaratha, has stood by it in his Kramakeli.[1]

Jayaratha's presentation makes it well nigh certain that the Krama-Stotra, in his time, became vulnerable to two types of interpretation, one maintaining the number of Kālīs to be thirteen and the other twelve. Jayaratha has no sympathies with the former group which had a different text or the reading of the Stotra together with a different arrangement of the verses, as is testified to by another commentary called Vivaraṇa . But possibly Jayaratha's group could not make

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1. इह तु पूजाक्रमगोपनाय स्वशय्यैव स्थापनम्, यदधिकृत्य संवित्क्रमः परिनिष्ठितिमियात्, अतएवागमैकशरणतया प्रवृत्तेऽपि श्रीक्रमस्तोत्रे ग्रन्थकृतां संवित्क्रममेव प्रदर्शयितुं तद्विवृतौ ... इत्याद्युक्तम् ॥

T.A.V., III, p. 162.

much headway in appealing to the reason of the opponents as is evinced by the compromise formula evolved by Jayaratha that one should better go in for that reading which has the sanction and approval of one's preceptor.[1]

Abhinavagupta and Śivopādhyāya both have invited our attention to the metaphysical richness of the Krama Stotra. Abhinava presents it as advocating the elimination of doubt, which as principle of limitation is the primal cause of mundane duality, for realizing the true self.[2] For Śivopādhyāya, the central theme of the Stotra is to prevail upon one to attain the ultimate Divinity which uproots the limitations accruing from time and space and finds own counterpart in the Prajñā-Pāramitā of Buddhism.[3]

5-(XVI). BHĀSKARA (925-975 A.D.)

From the point of view of his contribution there is apparently no valid ground for including Bhāskara in the list of the Krama authors. He is generally included among the authors of the Spanda branch, in the light of which he wrote his famous Vārtika on the Śiva-sūtras. The only reason for

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1. इत्येकतरपरिग्रहे यथास्वं गुरूपदेश एव निबन्धनम् । T.A.V., III, p.203.

2. P.T.V., pp.233-36.

3. इतिक्रमस्तोत्रसंवादात् अपादानत्वेन परैव देवी देशाकालाकारावच्छेदविनाशिनी समालम्बनीया । एषैव भगवती निरावरणरूपा प्रज्ञापारमिता उच्यते ।

V.Bh.V., p.140.

making a reference to him, here, consists in the fact that he is presented as the immediate successor to the Stotrakāra and as transmitting the latter's doctrinal maxims to the next generation. There was a doctrinal scuffle between the two opposite groups as to whether or not the Stotrakāra followed the Krama-Sadbhāva. Jayaratha rejects any such adherence on the part of the Stotrakāra , while the other school acquisced into it giving out the tradition of the Stotrakāra.[1]

Bhāskara is a student of Śrīkaṇṭha in the Spanda branch[2] and of the Stotrakāra in the Krama. He is the son of Divākara as stated by him.[3] Abhinava's reference to one son of Divākara and author of the Vivekāñjana is meant for him.[4] Yogarāja also refers to a son of Divākara as the author of the Kakṣyāstotra[5]. A verse from this work has figured in the Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya of Kṣemarāja.[6] Abhinava has generally referred to him as Bhaṭṭa Divākaravatsa.[7] These references indicate that Bhāskara was more popular as the son of

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1. एतदाशयेन श्रीस्तोत्रकारस्य पूजाक्रमः, इति न ग्राह्यम् यदाहुः -
   श्रीक्रमसद्भावादिकशास्त्राशयतश्च पत्रिका अत्र ।
   श्रीस्तोत्रकारभास्करकुलधरपूर्वासु संततिषु ॥ T.A.V., III, p.191.

2. S.S.V.1.8.

3. दैवाकरिर्भास्करोऽहमन्तेवासिगणेरितः । Ibid.1.9.

4. यदाह भट्टदिवाकरवत्सो विवेकाञ्जने । Bhās.(V), I, p.24.

5. यथाह भट्टदिवाकरवत्सः... कक्ष्यास्तोत्रे । P.S.V., p.103.

6. Vide p.86, also see I.P.V.V., II, pp.301,328; P.S.V., p.79.

7. I.P.V.V., II, pp.13,14,145; III, 388.

Divākara than by his personal name. As Abhinava has frequently referred to him not only as Divākaravatsa but as Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara[1] also, he is supposed to be earlier than Abhinava. He is also included in the list of Abhinava's teachers[2]. On the other hand the ancestral tradition given by Bhāskara also places him approximately around the same period -

Vasugupta
:
Kallaṭa
:
Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa
:
Prajñārjuna
:
Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa
:
Śrīkaṇṭha
:
Bhāskara[3]

The four generations that intervened between Kallaṭa and him may account for a century's gap in between them. Thus he is an older contemporary, if not necessarily a predecessor, of Abhinava and may be assigned to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the tenth century.

Apart from three works enumerated above he is also credited with the authorship of two more works, namely, the

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1. Bhagvadgītārthasaṃgraha, Chap.18,p.2.
2. T.A. 37.62.
3. S.S.V. 1.3-8.

Mīmāṁsā-Saṁgraha-Kaumudī and Padyāmṛta-Sopāna. This suggestion is advanced by Dr. Natarajana in his valued thesis who has relied on the information supplied by the Madhya-Yugīna-Caritrakośa, p.585. There is no evidence either to affirm or deny the statement.

Bhāskara is, however, most renowned for his Vārtika on the Śiva Sūtras. In this connection it is to be noted that not only his approach is different from Kṣemarāja's but even their versions of the text of the original Śivasūtras sometimes vary. Pt.M.S.Kaul, for instance, has called our attention to the following Sūtra which is found in the Vārtika but not in the Vimarśinī :-

विसर्गस्वभाव्या इबहिस्थितेस्तत्स्थति: ।[1]

5-(XVII). LAKSMANAGUPTA (925-975 A.D.)

(XVIII)

Lakṣmaṇagupta, the pupil of Utpala and grand pupil of Somānanda, had equal command over Trika as well as Krama and was, therefore, Abhinava's teacher in both the systems.[2] Abhinava has never hesitated in recording his immense respect for his teacher whenever he could get an opportunity to do so.[3]

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1. Short Review, p.12.
2. श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणगुप्त दर्शितपथ: श्रीप्रत्यभिज्ञाविधौ । I.P.V.V., I, p.1, v.2;
   And vide श्रीदेवीपंचशतिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादेभ्य: प्रभृति त्रिकदर्शनवदेव गुरव: । T.A.V., III, p.194.
3. Bhās.(V), I, Opening verse 4; Bhās.(V), II, p.8; M.V.V.1.8; T.A.37.60; T.A.1.11.

Like his teachers' none of his works on Krama is accessible today, but there is a strong likelihood of his having written a Krama work, so far as available evidence goes to show. Commenting on the word 'Anyathā' of T.A. 15.246 Jayaratha indicates that Lakṣmaṇagupta advocated a different type of Nyāsavidhi from one advanced by Śambhunātha.[1] His main thesis is to analyse the sixfold Śākta-nyāsa, which again is one of the six original Nyāsas, in order to invoke and realize Kālasaṁkarṣiṇī.[2] This, as we know, is a typical Krama concept. From this one gets inclined to concede that he definitely wrote a few works. The only definite word in this behalf is met with in a statement where he is stated to have produced a work called "Śrīśāstra"[3]. It seems improbable to make anything definite out of such random and cryptic statements.

But there comes an incentive from another source to keep up our optimism. The author of the Śāradā-Tilakatantra calls himself Lakṣmaṇa Deśikendra towards the end of the Tantra.[4] Contents of the work are not immediately relevant,

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1. T.A. 15.244-254. Vide शंभुनाथ इति श्रीलक्ष्मणगुप्तमतेहि अन्यथा न्यासविधिरित्याशयः । T.A.V, IX, p.122.
2. ततस्त्वावाहयेच्छक्तिं मातृसद्भावरूपिणीम् ।
   योगेश्वरीं परां पूर्णां कालसंकर्षिणीं ध्रुवाम् । Ibid.250-51.
3. श्रीशास्त्रकृद्घटितलक्ष्मणगुप्तपादसत्योपदर्शितशिवाद्वयवाददृप्तः ।।
   I.P.V.V., III, p.406
4. आचार्यविद्याविभवस्य तस्य जातः प्रभोर्लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्रः ।
   विद्यास्वशेषासु कलासु सर्वास्वपि प्रथां यो महतीं प्रपेदे ।।
   आदाय सारमखिलं निखिलागमेभ्यः
   श्रीशारदातिलकनाम चकार तन्त्रम् ।। S.D.25.86-87.

because it is an esteemed text of the Tripurā sect. But what is remarkable is to find this author presented as a student of Utpala by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Padārthādarśa commentary.[1] Rāghava Bhaṭṭa places him on a high pedestral and gives further information that Lakṣmaṇa was the disciple of Utpala and his preceptorial line ran as under- Śrīkaṇṭha, Vasumān, Somānanda, Utpalācārya, Lakṣmaṇa, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja- among whom persons till Utpala were his teachers while others after him, his pupils.[2] Rāghava narrates the background episode of Lakṣmaṇagupta's undertaking to write the Śāradā Tilaka. Motivated by a sense of deep compassion he embarked upon producing a digest of entire āgamic thinking for its easy comprehension by the laity yearning for spiritual enlightenment but handicapped by its limited capacities of understanding.[3]

In the absence of any negative evidence one cannot discard Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's account as unauthentic, more so when

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1. तत्रोत्पलाचार्यपूज्यपादशिष्यः श्रीलक्ष्मणाचार्यः... शारदातिलकं तन्त्रं चिकीर्षुः ... मंगलम् ... उपनिबध्नन्नाह । S.D.V., I, pp.2-3.

2. गुरूनिति बहुवचनं पूजार्थं गुरु-परमगुरु-परापरगुरु-परमेष्ठिगुर्व्वपेक्षया वा तथा च गुरुपंक्तिः । [श्रीकण्ठं वसुमन्तं श्रीसोमानन्दमुत्पलाचार्यान् इति । [लक्ष्मणमभिनवगुप्तं वन्दे श्रीक्षेमराजं च इति तच्छिष्याः ॥ S.T.V. on S.T.1.3, p.12.

3. S.T.V., pp.2-3.

it is endorsed by the author of the Śāradā Tilaka himself,[1] as has just been noted above. If, therefore, a suggestion is mooted out for identifying the "Śrī Śāstra" with the Śāradā-tilaka tantra, it must be conceded in the interest of logical consistency.

The account of Lakṣmaṇa's parentage also goes a long way to vouchesafe the veracity of the present thesis. At the end of the book he says that his father was Śrīkṛṣṇa, his grandfather Ācārya Pandita and great-grand father Mahābala.[2] All of them, he says, were men of great piety and erudition and enjoyed great reputation for the same. Of all his ancestors, fortunately, Mahābala, his great-grand father, is known to us. He is the author of the Rahasyagarbha-stotra and also the great-grand father of Bhaṭṭa Utpala on the daughter's side.[3] Mahābala, as we have already noted during our study on Utpala and Somānanda, is a contemporary of Pradyumna Bhaṭṭa and Somānanda. Bhaṭṭa Utpala and Lakṣmaṇagupta both being grandsons, one on the son's side and the other on

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1. Woodroffe accepts this account. Vide. Sakti and Sakta, pp. 56, 378. Also vide The Tantras, Studies on their Religion and Literature, Chakravarti, p. 65.

2. महाबलाय प्रणतोऽस्मि तस्मै संविल्लतालिंगनशीतलाय ।
येनाऽर्पितं मुक्तिफलं विपक्वमाम्नायशाखाभिरुपाश्रितेभ्यः ।।
तस्मादभूदखिलदेशिकवारणेन्द्रः षट्कर्मसागरविहारविनोदशीलः ।
यस्य त्रिलोकविततं विजयाभिधानमाचार्यपण्डित इति प्रथयन्ति सन्तः ।।
तन्नन्दनो देशिकदेशिकोऽभूच्छ्रीकृष्ण इत्यभ्युदितप्रभावः ।
यत्पादकारुण्यसुधाभिषेकाल्लक्ष्मीं परामश्नुवते कृतार्थाः ।।
आचार्यविद्याविभवस्य तस्य जातः प्रभोर्लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्रः ।
विद्यास्वशेषासु कलासु सर्वास्वपि प्रथां यो महतीं प्रपेदे । S.T.25.83-86.

3. अतश्चास्मत्पितुर्मातामहाचार्येण महाबलेन.. रहस्यस्तोत्रे । S.P., p.3.

the daughter's, of Mahābala are contemporary and have blood affiliations. In the history of Kashmir Śaivism, we have no other Lakṣmaṇa except one, the teacher of Abhinava, whose time exactly coincides with that of the author of the Śāradā-tilaka Tantra. Care has been taken to make it absolutely clear that Lakṣmaṇagupta was only a pupil and not a son of Utpala as has been made out in some scholarly circles.[1] Thus, one may be inclined to hold Lakṣmaṇagupta as identical with Lakṣmaṇa Deśikendra and his Śrīśāstra with the Śāradā-Tilaka. The name, Śrī Śāstra, too, implies its automatic association to the Tripurā cult. To repeat, he was a disciple of Utpala and son of Śrīkṛṣṇa. He may, therefore, be assigned to the second and third quarters of the tenth century.

5-(XVIII) [XIX]. BHAṬṬA UTPALA (925-975 A.D.)

This भट्ट उत्पल quotes [illegible]. could he succeed Abhinava? see [illegible] p. 85 (Skt. V. edition)

He is an important author on the Spanda system of philosophy, but whatever glimpses one gets from his Spanda-Pradīpikā, a commentary on the Spanda-Kārikās, justifies this reference to him under the Krama context. These lines, however, are not addressed to a study of his individual Krama views, since the same have been subjected to elaborate treatment in their respective contexts in the philosophical section, but there is no gainsaying the fact that he was fully aware of the important Krama doctrines and tried to interpret the Spanda and Yoga concepts in the light of the Krama philosophy.[2]

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1. Abhi., pp.7,164.

2. See, for instance, Sp.P., pp.48,49,50.

Besides the Spanda-Pradīpikā, his only extent work, he wrote one work called Bhogamokṣa-Pradīpikā. It is not known whether it was also a commentary or an independent work. He has referred to it thrice[1] and in one of these extracts the Krama attitude is easily descernible[2]. In the two he deals with the rise of the Spanda principle[3] and Rahasya-mudrā evidently under the influence of the 43rd Kārikā of the Spanda Kārikā.[4] We are however uncertain about ~~contents~~ the contents of this work and the system it subscribed too.

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1. Sp.P., pp.32, 49-50.
2. मयैव चोक्तं भोगमोक्षप्रदीपिकायाम् -
अथवा विभागबोधज्वलनेन विलाप्य वेद्यपीयूषम् ।
पीत्वा तृप्तो विचरेन्नीरोगो योऽचिरात्सदैकाकी ॥
एतत्क्रमार्थसारं परधाराभूमिका च शक्तीनाम् ।
तदनुज्ञया च कथितं सच्छिष्यबोधनाय यथा ।
Ibid, pp.49-50.
3. मयाप्युक्तं भोगमोक्षप्रदीपिकायाम् -
कामाख्ये विषतत्त्वे निरंजनाख्ये क्रमाच्चसिद्धिः स्यात् ।
शमाच्चेतिशास्त्रसर्वस्वम् ॥ इति । एवं स्पन्दतत्त्वस्य
सूर्यं सोमौ हृदयाख्यौः
Ibid, p.32.
उदयः प्रोक्तः ।
4. सैषा तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणौ रहस्यमुद्रेत्युक्ता । मयोक्तं भोगमोक्षप्रदीपिकायाम् -
उद्यन्त्वता बलेन तु विकासवृत्त्या स्वरूपगास्तिष्ठेत् ।
स्वयमुपयातेन्द्रियार्थानश्नन्नानन्दभूमिगो योगी ॥
एषोच्छलद्रूपा विकस्वरतरा प्रबुद्धबुद्धीनाम् ।
सिद्धाः स्थिताः सदास्यां ह्यानन्दरताः परा च मुद्रैषा ॥

Ibid, p.49.

In addition, he wrote several other work or works, passages from which have been cited by him without naming their source and have been ascribed to himself.[1] In all these extracts he has dwelt on the common tenets of the monistic Śaivism, namely, the instrumentality of the objective world to the cause of emancipation, a priori unity of consciousness, and matchless superiority of the spiritual guide respectively.

He is different from his namesake predecessor, the teacher of Lakṣmaṇagupta, and, in contrast to bare Utpala, is known as Bhaṭṭa Utpala or Utpala Vaiṣṇava. It has not been possible to trace out the origin or logic of his second epithet, i.e., Vaiṣṇava. According to a modern scholar the Spanda-Pradīpikā is a commentary on the Spanda-Kārikās on Vaiṣṇava lines.[2] This might have been a probable source of his fame as "Vaiṣṇava". But even a superficial peep into its contents belies the above contention. It is a pure Spanda interpretation with occasional flashes about the cognate systems.

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1. (a) तथा मयाऽपि - । Sp.P., pp.49-50.
   (b) मयाप्युक्तं क्वापि -... । Ibid , p.39.
   (c) मयैवोक्तं क्वापि - .... । Ibid, p.54.

2. Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature, (thesis) (MS), p.340.

He hailed from a place called Nārāyaṇa in Kashmir and was the son of some Trivikrama and Brāhmaṇa by caste.[1] Compassion on mankind and consideration of his students' good were the chief motives that actuated him to take up the writing of the <u>Spanda Pradīpikā.</u> He was a great-grand-son of Mahābala whom he mentions as a maternal grand-father of his father.[2] Thus he occupies the same position in the daughter's heritage of Mahābala which Lakṣmaṇagupta does in the filial lineage of Mahābala. His time, therefore, is almost definite and may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the tenth century.

5-(XIX). <u>BHŪTIRĀJA I</u> (900-950 A.D.)

Bhūtirāja is a very important name in the history of the Krama thought despite the unfortunate fact that none of his works is extant today. There are four Bhūtirāja's that attract our notice in the wider context of the Kashmir Śaivism. The first happens to be a teacher of Abhinava in Brahmavidyā. The second is the father of Bhaṭṭa Indurāja. The third is the

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1.(a) नारायणस्थानसंस्थद्विजवर्यात्त्रिविक्रमात् ।
जातो जनानुग्रहार्थं व्याख्याति स्पन्दमुत्पल: ।।

Sp.P., p.1, v.6.

(b) नारायणस्थानज उत्पलाख्यास्त्रिविक्रमाख्यस्य सुतोऽग्रजन्मा ।
यस्तेन सच्छिष्यहिताय दृष्टा मयैषा च तमोनुदे स्यात् ।।

S.P.,
Concluding Verse 4.

2. अतश्चास्मत्पितुर्मातामहाचार्येण महाबलेन ।

Ibid, p.3.

father of Helārāja, the illustrious commentator on the Vākyapadīya. And the fourth is a pupil of Cakrabhānu, a Krama celebrity, and who rather proved to be focal point of a heated controversy in Jayaratha's time.

We are presently concerned with the number one Bhūtirāja because, while quoting him in the Krama context, Abhinava refers to him as his teacher.[1] But, there should be no misunderstanding; he did not teach the Krama system to Abhinava. The subjects in which he imparted lessons to Abhinava were Brahmavidyā[2] and Śambhu Śāstra[3]. Jayaratha has taken extra pains to clear out the misgiving that Bhūtirāja ever taught Abhinava the Krama system. Jayaratha explicitly admits that Bhūtirāja was a teacher of Abhinava but what he objects to is that the Krama system or any text pertaining to Krama, e.g., the Devīpañcaśatikā, was not his specific field of instruction.[4] But at the same time, he did make some solid contribution to the Krama system in his own right, which is borne out by the two

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1. यदाहु: भूतिराजगुरव: । T.S.,p.30.
2. अथोच्यते ब्रह्मविद्या सद्य: प्रत्ययदायिनी ।
   शिव: श्रीभूतिराजो यामस्म्यम् प्रत्यपादयत् ।। T.A.30.62-63.
3. श्रीभूतिराजवदनोदितशंभुशास्त्रतत्त्वांशुशातिततमस्तमवान्धकार: ।
   I.P.V.V.,III,p.405.
4. न तत्राप्यस्य श्रीभूतिराजो गुरुत्वेन स्थित:, न च श्रावप्यस्य न गुरु: । यद्वक्ष्यति "अथोच्यते ...."
   T.A.V.,III,p.194.

extracts attributed to him. In one, he derives the word Kalī from the root Kalana meaning Kṣepa and Jñāna[1] and in the other, he asserts the sameness of Mantra with the transcendental principle of awareness owing to its all-encompassing capacity[2]. Besides the above two sciences, he also initiated Abhinava in three mystic sciences[3] pertaining to Praṇava, Māyā and Bindu.[4] He also entertained definite views of his own regarding Bhuvanādhvan[5] and Pratiṣṭhā Kalā.[6]

Abhinava had an extremely high sense of respect for his teacher so much so that he respected his teacher more than his father.[7] He looked upon him (Bhūtirāja) as the Lord-incornate himself in a human frame.[8] Perhaps barring the teachers of the four main schools (Maṭhikās), no body else from outside these schools has won so much praise at the hands of Abhinava as Bhūtirāja. Jayaratha had to justify the mention

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1. यदाहुः श्रीभूतिराजगुरवः क्षेपाज्ज्ञानाच्च काली कलनवशतयाथ.. । इति T.S.p.30.

2. श्री क्रमकेलौ च ... भट्टश्रीभूतिराजेनाप्युक्तं - सर्वक्रोडीकारेण स्थितत्वाद् देव्येव मन्त्रः इति । M.M.P.,p.127.

3. एतद्विद्यात्रयम् श्रीमान् भूतिराजो न्यरूपयत् । T.A.30.120.

4. T.A.V.,XII,p.216.
5. T.A.8.265.
6. Ibid, 410.
7. ततो गुरुतरः श्रीमान् भूतिराजो महामतिः । M.V.V.1.6.

8. यः साक्षादभजच्छ्रीकण्ठो मानुषीं तनुम् ।। T.A.30.121.

of Bhūtirāja's name by Abhinava in the Tantrāloka[1] while paying obeisance to his teachers[1], as the Tantrāloka having a defined aim and scope needed not refer to persons from the outer circles.[2]

Bhūtirāja, by dint of being Abhinava's teacher, may be bracketed with his other teachers and therefore belongs to the previous generation of Abhinava. But his date may be pushed a little earlier, because Abhinava was not a student of Bhūtirāja alone but of his son as well[3]. Hence he must have been of fairly old age when Abhinava approached him. He may, therefore, be assigned to the first half of the tenth century. He is also identical with the Bhūtirāja number two who has been referred to as father of Bhaṭṭendurāja and who, in addition to Dhvaniśāstra, initiated Abhinava in the mysteries of the Gītā.

The geneology of Indurāja given by Abhinava in the concluding portion of his Bhagvadgītārtha-Śaṁgraha is self-

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1. T.A. 1.9.
2. T.A.V., I, p.29.
3. श्रीभूतिराजतनयः स्वपितृप्रसादः ॥

T.A. 37.60.

explanatory. The same is reproduced below :-

Kātyāyana
:
Sansúka
:
Bhūtirāja
:
Bhaṭṭendurāja[1]

In this connection the issue of the third Bhūtirāja may also be taken up, who is identified with the father of Helārāja. According to Dr. Pandey, and there is no reason to dispute him, Bhūtirāja, in question, is identical with this Bhūtirāja also. Because Helārāja, in the colophon to each section of his commentary on the Vākyapadīya, regularly refers to himself as the son of Bhūtirāja (Bhūtirājatanaya).[2] Abhinava has included one Bhūtirājatanaya, whom he does not name, among his teachers.[3] He came in the lineage of Śrīnātha, the first exponent of dualistic philosophy, and was possibly taught by his father. By implication, he educated Abhinava in dualistic Śaivism. The two Bhūtirāja's may be identified since,

(i) Abhinava does not refer to his teacher in Śaiva dualism by name, but by his parental description i.e., Bhūtirājatanaya,

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1. Vide Bh. G.S., p.186; also see Abhi., p.214.

2. भूतिराजतनये हेलाराजकृते ।

3. श्रीनाथसंततिमहाम्बरघर्मकान्तिः श्रीभूतिराजतनयः स्वपितृप्रसादः ।।

T.A. 37.60.

(ii) Except Helārāja, nobody else refers to himself as Bhūtirājatanaya.

(iii) Abhinava evinces great familiarity with Bhartṛhari's system as presented by Helārāja specially in respect of the Kālaśakti that acted as harbinger of the Krama concept of Kālī.

If that be so, the two Bhūtirājas, too, become one, and Indurāja and Helārāja happen to be brothers, one shining as the literary critic and the other as a philosopher.

In this connection attention may be drawn to a reference by Śitikaṇṭha to some Dūtirājatanaya who, in spite of his not belonging to the Krama system, had inherited different versions regarding the Yuganāthas and tried to thrust them on the Krama system proper[1]. Śitikaṇṭha has criticised such action. Our contention is that this Dūtirājatanaya is none else than Bhūtirājatanaya. 'Dū' and 'Bhū' in hastily written Śāradā characters are difficult to distinguish, hence the scribal mistake. This is borne out further by the fact that Bhūtirājatanaya is shown as adept in the Dualistic Śaivism. Here too Dū (?Bhū)tirājatanaya is an outsider in the Krama fold. We may, therefore, possibly identify the two.

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1. यस्तु पीठपारम्पर्येण पत्रिकाभेदो दूतिराजतनयपर्यन्तो युगनाथानां दृश्यते ।
स कथमपि सामंजस्य नोपयाति । M.P.(S), p.115.

Coming to the fourth Bhūtirāja we find that he is a different person altogether. Because this Bhūtirāja, the pupil of Cakrabhānu, could not have been Abhinava's teacher. For the simple reason that Cakrabhānu, as will be seen in the sequel, is historically posterior (i.e., circa 1050-1100 A.D.) to Abhinavagupta. Hence to say that his pupil (Circa 1075-1125 A.D.) was a teacher of Abhinava would be a historical absurdity.[1] Moreover, the method of worship, advocated by this Bhūtirāja, is said to be based on the Pañcaśatika, according to which the number of deities to be worshipped is not twelve. It, therefore, seemes logically incongruous to treat Bhūtirāja, a spokesman of the not-twelve doctrine, as a teacher of Abhinava, a staunch protagonist of the twelve-deity doctrine.[2] Thus these two Bhūtirājas seem to be two distinct different personalities, though both having definite relationship with the Krama system.

5-(XXI). KULADHARA (950-1000 A.D.)

We know nothing about him except that he directly came into the line of the Stotrakāra after Bhāskara[3]. He, therefore, appears to be a contemporary of Abhinavagupta.

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1. अतश्चास्य एवं गुरुक्रममजानानैरयतनै: -

श्रीभूतिराजनामाप्याचार्यश्चक्रभानुशिष्योऽन्य: ।
अभिनवगुप्तस्य गुरोर्यस्य हि कालीनये गुरुता ॥
इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत् स्वोत्प्रेक्षितमेव, इत्युपेक्ष्यम् ।

T.A.V.,III,p.193.

2. तत्रापि चात्र श्रीभूतिराजस्यान्यथापूजाक्रम इति देवीपंचशताश्यमाश्रित्य च भूतिराजपूर्वाणाम् इत्यभिदधद्भिर्भवद्भिरेवोक्तम्, अथात्र द्वादशैवदेव्य: पूज्यतया स्थिता: इत्यभिप्रेतं भवत: तर्हि श्रीपंचशतिकार्थमपि न जानीषे ।

Ibid,p.194.

3. Ibid,p.191.

5.(XXI). BHATTA DAMODARA (950-1000 A.D.)

He seems to be a minor Krama author and is said to have composed certain Muktakas (independent verses). He has been referred to only once by Kṣemarāja[1] and no other reference, either before or after Kṣemarāja, appears to have been made by any author to him. The guess that he devoted a few verses to Krama is based on the circumstantial and contextual evidence, because the verse ascribed to him[2] deals with the Pañcavāha, a typical Krama phenomenon, and is quoted in the same context in particular, and under Śāktopāya in general. He has been commended for his intuitive realisation of the Supreme bliss. Since he has not been noticed by any author before Kṣemarāja, he might have belonged to the latter's preceding generation. Hence, it is possible he might be a contemporary of Abhinava (950-100 A.D.). He is different from Dāmodaragupta, the author of the Kuttinimatam and a minister of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.). He is also different from one Damodara who was a contemporary of Maṅkha (1125-1175 A.D.) and has been mentioned as such,[3] whereas the present author comes prior to Kṣemarāja (975-1025).

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1. तथा च उक्तं सहजचमत्कारपरिजनिताकृतकादरेण भट्टदामोदरेण विमुक्तकेषु -
   P.Hṛ.,p.70.

2. पूर्णविच्छिन्नमात्रान्तर्बहिष्करणभावगाः ।
   वामेशाद्याः परिज्ञानात् स्युर्मुक्तिबन्धदाः ॥ Ibid,pp.70-71.

3. सूक्तिभूरिगुणानर्घमश्लाघत स वीप्सया ।
   दामोदरं तदासीददादरप्रह्वकन्धरः ॥ S.K.C.,25.68.

5-(XXII). ABHINAVAGUPTA (950-1020 A.D.)

The personality as well as the volume and scope of Abhinava's contribution is so rich, enormous and extensive that we propose to confine ourselves strictly to his contribution in the field of Krama alone. Exception will be made only when some new information is intended to be furnished.

According to all available accounts, Abhinava was not his actual name but a title conferred on him by his teachers in recognition of his extraordinary calibre and outstanding intellectual accomplishment.[1] He was also called Bāla-valabhī-bhujaṅga[2]. Abhinava possibly knew the immense value of furnishing historical data with regard to an epoch-making personality. It is why Abhinava's date, span of creative life, etc., do not pose problems. To begin with, he has given the dates of composition in the case of his three works. The Kramastotra [3] was composed during 990-991 A.D.(4066 Saptarṣi era), the Bhairavastotra during 992-993 A.D.(4068 S.E.),[4] ~~Thus~~

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1. अभिनवगुप्तस्य कृतिः सेयं यस्योदिता गुरुभिराख्या ।
त्रिनयनचरणसरोरुह चिन्तनलब्ध प्रसिद्धिरिति । T.A.1.20.
... स्पष्टेन चाभिनवगुप्तपदप्रतिष्ठः । I.P.V.V.,III,p.406.

2. भवदेवः स्वकृते तौतातितमततिलके भामध्ययनदशायामुवाच वाचम् । दर्शिस्वप्ने ।
बालवलभीभुजंगापरनामा त्वमसि भवदेव । Quoted from an unspecified source, Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature, thesis (MS), p.342.

3. K.S.(A) 30.

4. Bhairava Stotra, verse no.10.

and the Bṛhatī Vimarśinī during 1014-15 (4090 S.E.).[1] Thus the whole period of his literary activity, giving a margin of five years on each side for other possible undertakings, appears to have been spread over a period from 985 to 1020 A.D. In view of his vast erudition acquired through personal approaches to almost every teacher in all the then possible branches of learning, if he is allowed a preparatory period of thirty to thirtyfive years before he could embark upon writing, he may be said to have flourished and lived during 950-1020 A.D.. One will arrive at approximately similar dates from a different source as well. Karṇa, one of his favoured students, was the grandson of Vallabha, the court-minister of King Yaśaskara, who definitely reigned in the year 939 A.D.[2] It is a strange coincidence that Pūrṇa Manoratha, the first known ancestor of Jayaratha, was a colleague of Vallabha in the court of the same king.[3] Vallabha's son Śauri (who was also a minister) and daguther-in-law Vatsalikā[4] were Abhinava's contemporary and the latter was looked after by Vatsalikā when he was engaged in writing his Tantrāloka[5]. In addition, Yogeśvaridatta, the son of Karṇa, came of age and displayed merits equal to his name before the eyes of

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1. vide I.P.V.V.,III,p.407.
2. vide P.T.V.,p.279; T.A. 37.65.
3. vide T.A.V.,XII,p.430.
4. vide P.T.V.,p.279; T.A. 37.73,75.
5. vide T.A. 37.82.

Abhinava[1]. Thus Abhinava belonged to the generation next to king Yaśaskara's and continued to live for another two generations. Even on this calculation his probable time remains almost the same as above.

In all about fortyfour works, both major and minor, are ascribed to him[2], and twentythree of these have been published till now. But this list does not include three other minor Stotra works[3] attributed to him namely, the Amareśvarastotra,[4] Devībhujaṅga[5] and Śivastotra.[6] The Tantroccaya which figures in the above list, like the Tantra-vaṭa-dhānikā, is a summary of the Tantrāloka. A manuscript of it is available in the Tagore Library of the Lucknow University.[7]

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1. vide T.A. 37.76.
2. See Abhi., pp. 26-27; Contribution, pp.342-44.
3. The works of Abhinavagupta, Dr. V.Raghavan, J.O.R.I.,XIV-IV, pp. 318-28.
4. R.A.Sastri refers in his "Diary" to this Stotra which is in the personal library of Pt.Ram Jiva Kokil, Banmahal, Kashmir, Ibid.
5. It is in the library of Vishvabharti, Shantiniketan. Ibid.,
6. The following portion from the letter no.125/R addressed to the present author from the Dy.Director, Research Publication Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government is self-explanatory- "However it is to inform you that the Sivastotram by Abhinavagupta is available with Pt. Lambodar Razdan, c/o R.N.Temple, Srinagar". We unsuccessfully tried our best to contact Pt. Razdan.
7. Accession No. 45827 and Catalogue No. RS 180.414/A174 T.

Of all the five pages and nine folios, six folios contain Sūtras and the rest verses. But the whole thing is so haphazard, and style and method so shabby that it raises serious doubts about its being a work from the pen of Abhinava. Besides, Abhinava refers to one Ślokavārtika in the Tantrasāra.[1] It is uncertain whether this is identical with the famous Mīmāṁsā text of the same name by Kumārila. But the way Abhinava refers to it and the context in which it finds a place, make it quite probable that Abhinava might have attempted a work under this name. Orelse it might be another name of the Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika. The evidence in hand, however, is not conclusive to indicate any thing definitely. Jayaratha also appears to attribute to him one work named Anupratyabhijñā and cites a passage from the same.[2] Here again one is totally ignorant if it was another name of certain work among the known works or an original one by itself or a work by his pen at all. Yet it is difficult to say that all these works, enumerated or alluded to above, exhaust the total

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1. एतदेव अवस्थाचतुष्टयं पिण्डस्थपदस्थरूपस्थरूपातीतशब्दैर्योगिनो व्यवहरन्ति,
प्रसंख्यानधनास्तु सर्वतोभद्रं व्याप्तिः महाव्याप्तिः प्रचय इति शब्दैः ।
अन्वर्थं चात्र दर्शितं तन्त्रालोके श्लोकवार्तिके च । T.S., p.107.

2. अनुप्रत्यभिज्ञाकृताप्यनेनैवाभिप्रायेण
नाथ त्वया विना बिम्बं स्वच्छे स्वात्मनि दर्शितम् ।
प्रसेना दर्पणेनैव प्रभावाद्भावमण्डलम् ॥
इत्याद्युक्तम् । T.A.V., II, p.73.

expanse of his literary activity. The profuse and frequent references to and extracts from Abhinava[1] hint at his having written infinitely more than is known today. The MS of the Śaṅka-nityapūjā-paddhti contains a few verses that are ascribed to Abhinavagupta by the colophon.[2-3] At least in one field, that is, Stotras, one may feel absolutely certain that he penned many that have not come down to us. His and his successors' own statements bear the palm of this contention.[4] Similarly he wrote a commentary, called the Tattvaviveka, on the Trikasūtra which was later embodied in his Vivaraṇa on the Parātrimśikā.[5]

Let us revert to the Krama system. The system has profited by him in at least four positive ways--firstly, as an indispensable repository of tradition and thought; secondly,

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1. Vide, for instance, Krama-kalā-vilāsa-Ṭīkā, pp.12,26,31,73.
2. दत्तो मूर्ध्नि लीलयैव चरणः संसारनाम्नो रिपोः
   पीतं सर्वरसातिशायि भरितं ज्ञानौघधारामृतम् ।
   भातः स्वात्ममहेश्वरः किमपरं सम्पूर्णसर्वाशिषाम्
   कायो भ्रश्यतु नश्यतु श्रयतु वा स्थैर्यं नोऽत्राग्रहः ॥...इत्यभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्याणाम्

   M.S.No.5727, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.VIII(Tantras), p.568.
3. For other verses see MS No.RS180.4/A14B, Accession No.45723, Lucknow University Library. These verses are bound together with the Praṇava-bāla-bhodinī of Śaṁkarācārya.
4. Vide Bh.G.S.12.6-8; T.A.26.63-65; P.T.V., pp.22,59,163,198,223; Dh.L., pp.197,397,; Bhās.(V),I,p.42; St.C.Y.p.112; S.V., p.112.
5. Vide Contribution, p.347. But no textual authority could be traced in support of this statement.

as a sourcebook of authors and their works preceding him; thirdly, as a commentator on the few important Krama texts; and, finally, as an original thinker of enviable value who fostered the thought with a cirtical analysis and insight. But for him, we, today, would have missed the richness of the entire traditional intellectual development.[1] He assimilated the tradition and then enriched it by exposition and embellishment. In the history of the Krama thought only two names can be cited to matbh him in the enormity of historical allusions. They are Jayaratha, his own commentator, and Maheśvarānanda. But for Abhinava's Kramakeli the early history of the system would have remained the 'pre-history' for a modern student. As a commentator he has produced the Kramakeli on the Kramastotra (of Sidd[h]anātha). His other commentary Vivarana, is an exposition of his own, Prakarana Stotra. The Tantrāloka, Krama Stotra, Prakarana Stotra and Tantrasāra are his original contributions to the system. The Tantrāloka covers a vast expanse and, in its massive effort to preserve and present the Kashmir Śaiva thought in its fullness, deals with the Krama dicta and theses to almost perfection. The Tantrasāra tries to do the same in brief. His Krama works will be taken up for a fuller treatment.

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1. ~~शास्त्रमस्य~~ शास्त्रमस्मत्गुरुगृहे संप्रदायक्रमात्र स्थितम् ।

When he diverted his attention from literature to the study of Śaiva monism, Krama was his first love in philosophy. The earliest date of the Kramastotra bears ample testimony to it. The first verse of the Krama stotra makes it obvious that he was restless and had no peace of mind before he turned to Krama.[1] Abhinava attained high proficiency in Kramic experiments and went very far in realizing the true spirit of the system. He himself affirms it.[2] Apart from his specific Krama treatises, there are certain other texts, namely, the Mālinīvijaya-vārtika, Paryanta Pañcāśikā and Parātriṃśikā-vivaraṇa wherein he occasionally dwells on the Krama tenets at length. Among his Krama works, the KRAMA STOTRA is his first contribution in the chronological order as its earliest date would vindicate.[3] After ventilation of his views about the nature and purpose of devotional prayer, the stotra grows through four stages, viz., (i) the background of the Kramic emanation, (ii) rise and emergence of Kramic evolution through

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1. अयं दुःखव्रातव्रतपरिगमे पारणाविधिर्महासौख्यासारप्रसरणरसे दुर्दिनमिदम् ।
यदन्यन्यक्कृत्या विषमविशिखप्लोषणगुरोर्विभोः स्तोत्रे शश्वत्प्रतिफलति चेतो गतभयम् ॥
K.S.(A).1.

2. अलं वातिप्रसंगेन भूयसातिप्रपंचिते ।
योग्योऽभिनवगुप्तोऽस्मिन्कोऽपि यागविधौ बुधः । T.A.4.278.

3. षाट्षष्ठिनामके वर्षे नवम्यामसितेऽहनि ।
मयाऽभिनवगुप्तेन मार्गशीर्षे स्तुतः शिवः ॥ K.S.30.

twelve Kālikās, (iii) repose of Krama in the absolute, and (iv) the epilogue invoking the Godhead's grace on humanity. The order in which the various stages, i.e., Kālīs, succeed each other is in consonance with the metaphysical aspect (Saṁvit krama) of it and not with the ritualistic one (Pūjana-krama). The ante-penultimate verse indicates Abhinava's unmistakable adherence to the school that held Śiva as the ultimate reality.[1] The PRAKARAṆA STOTRA, is known today only from a reference to it by Abhinava in the Tantrasāra[2]. Its chief purpose was to dwell on the concept of Kālī with an accent upon its elymological implications. The PRAKARAṆA VIVARAṆA[3] was in all probability a commentary by Abhinava himself on the said Stotra. Both of these works were intended to cover in detail the nature of the dynamic absolutism and its modus operandi echoing the manifold derivative significance of the word Kalana. A word of caution may be added. Abhinava does not give out the name of this text as the Prakaraṇa Vivaraṇa. He simply says Vivaraṇa. It is not known whether he meant by it the Kramakeli, a commentary on the Krama-stotra, or an

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1. अनर्गलस्वात्ममये महेशे तिष्ठन्ति यस्मिन् विभुशक्तयस्ताः ।
तं शक्तिमन्तं प्रणमामि देवं मन्थानसंज्ञं जगदेकसारम् ॥ K.S.28.

2-3. यदाहुः श्रीमूतिराजगुरवः दोपाज्ज्ञानाच्च काली कलनवशतया च
इति । एष च अर्थः तत्रतत्र मद्विरचिते विवरणे प्रकरणादौ
वितत्य वीक्ष्यः ।

T.S., pp.30-31.

independent commentary on the Prakaraṇa-stotra itself. In such a fluid state of affairs one has to base one's hypothesis on the contextual evidence and should press it only to that extent, no further. In this connection, it may be noted that he wrote another work called the Prakīrṇaka-vivaraṇa [1]. It is yet hypothetical to say that the two were identical. Dr. Pandey appears to take them as two separate works.[2] Nagarajan follows Dr. Pandey.[3] But on a close perusal their difference does not remain tenable. According to Nagarajan [4] it is a grammatico-philosophical work. If one accepts this contention, which one should, their distance vanishes. Because even the two contexts resemble each other in the respect that the books in question are purported to answer the grammatical and derivational requirements and analyse ensuing implications of the philosophical concepts. Let us, however, await the verdict of future investigation on it. The single work called TANTRĀLOKA is sufficient to

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1. इत्थं जडेन सम्बन्धे न मुख्या ण्यर्थसंगतिः ।
   आस्तामन्यत्र विततमेतद्विस्तरतो मया । T.A. 10.44.
   Jayaratha explains the word Anyatra thus - अन्यत्रेति
   प्रकीर्णकविवरणादौ । T.A.V.,VII,p.33.
2. Vide Abhi., pp.28,38.
3. Contribution, p.356.
4. Ibid.

make him the doyen of the monistic philosophers of Kashmir. For fear of repetition no reference is being made to the varied contents. However, Āhnikas 4, 13, 31 and 32 specially deal with the Krama system while Āhnikas 1, 3, 9, 15 and 30 contain brief but useful information about Krama. The TANTRASĀRA is an abridged Tantrāloka. Its Āhnikas 4 and 13 are particularly relevant. The former presents a masterly epitome of the Krama ideals. The KRAMAKELI [1] is an important Krama text. Although it is a commentary on the Krama-stotra of an earlier author, it speaks of the originality and vast comprehension of its author's mind. At present our knowledge is limited to references only made by himself,[2] Kṣemarāja[3],

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1. While in Kashmir (1963 Summer) we made an extensive search to trace out its manuscript. We were told by Pt. D.N.Yaksa of the Sanskrit Section of the Research xxxx Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar that a MS of the Kramakeli was available with Mr. Somanatha Razdan of Purshiar Aba Kadal (2nd bridge) Srinagar; but it was difficult to procure from him. The personal meeting with the gentleman resulted in the impression that he had inherited a large treasure of rare MSS from his grandfather, an avowed Sanskritist. But he could not xxx be persuaded even to allow to have a look of the text, not to talk of parting with it. Even the monetary temptations failed. On a later date Prof. B.N.Pandit of Khannabal informed us that he knew of one MS of the Kramakeli in possession of a person whom he knew. But his efforts, too, were doomed to failure.

2. व्याख्यातं चैतन्मया तट्टीकायामेव क्रमकेलौ विस्तरतः । P.T.V.,p.236.

3. यथोक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिः क्रमकेलौ -

श्रीमत्सदाशिव पदेऽपि गतोग्रकाली

भीमोत्कटभ्रुकुटिरेष्यति भंगभूमिः ॥ S.St.V.,p.159.

Jayaratha[1] and Maheśvarānanda.[2] The only thing worthy of note is that it was also liable to two sorts of interpretation with regard to its stand ~~abxx~~ about the gigantic controversy on the correct number of Kālīs. Jayaratha is very insistent that the Krama Stotra (of Siddhanātha), and for that matter Abhinava, did not budge ~~and~~ an inch from the twelve-kālī theory[3]. But, on the other hand, Maheśvarānanda tends to show him as supporting thirteen-kālī theory.[4] Nevertheless, so far as the question of interpreting Abhinava is concerned, it is more advisable to abide by Jayaratha not only because of his Viveka on the Tantrāloka, but also because of his claim that he was in possession of the original tradition, which started with Śivānanda and was actuated by Abhinavagupta.

A brief explanation would perhaps look necessary for exclusion of the Dehastha-devatā-cakra-stotra from amongst the Krama works, since the same has been taken as a

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1. T.A.V.,III,pp.162, 191.
2. M.M.P.,pp.104, 106, 127, 156, 178, 179, 190, 192. For the English rendering of these extracts see Abhi.,pp.482-484.
3. एवं क्रमकेलावप्येतद्गर्भीकारेण यदनेन ग्रन्थकृता व्याख्यातं तत्रापि अन्यथा न किंचित संभाव्यम् ।   T.A.V.,III,p.191.
4. ताश्च क्वचित्र सृष्ट्यादौ चक्ररूपता विद्यते इति श्रीक्रमकेलिक्लृप्तया...
इतिद्वादशानानामिन्द्रियस्फुरत्तानाम् अनाख्याभासयोरत्र नोपदिष्टः
पृथङ्मनुः इति स्थित्या सर्वानुस्यूततया तुरीयसम्मिलतया भासाभट्टारिकया
त्रयोदशीभूतया परिस्पन्दतयाऽध्यवसीयते ।

M.M.P.,p.104.

Krama text by some authors.[1] The stotra , in question, eulogizes the physical body as an abode of spirituality, and each constituent organ of the body has a particular divinity stationed in it. This theme is taken to be a particular aspect of the Krama system. In fact, the things do not appear to be so. This is a general feature of the Kashmir Śaivism and consequently all the systems comprising it share this notion[2]. Hence it has not been considered to be a Krama work.

5.(XXII). <u>KṢEMARĀJA (</u>975-1125 A.D.)

An illustrious student of an illustrious teacher Kṣemarāja may be ascribed to the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. He was both Abhinava's cousin and a pupil.[3] Of all Abhinava's students he is the only figure who is mentioned by name by Madhurāja Yogin in his <u>Gurunāthaparāmarśa</u>. After an examination of the available data, Dr. Pandey has established Vāmadeva, Abhinava's

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1. Abhi., p.485.

2. It may, further, be noted that such a theory in particular, may be associated with the Kula system. Cf. N.T. 12.1-4; T.A.V., I, p.23.

3. T.A. 37.67.

4. आसीन: क्षेमराजप्रभृतिभिरखिलै: सेवित: शिष्यवर्गै: ।

Verse No. 4.

uncle, to be his father.[1] Among his own pupils he mentions inter alia Śūra or Śūrāditya, son of Guṇāditya, for whose enlightenment most of his works were written.[2] Among others he includes Śrīrāma, Raktika Bhaṭṭa, Gargeśa with particular reference to the Netra-Tantra[3] Besides Abhinava he mentions Prayāga as his teacher.[4] There were probably a few more teachers according to a hint thrown by himself. Accordingly Saṅkarājñādhara was also probably his teacher.[5]

The present enquiry is concerned with Kṣemarāja as an eminent post-Abhinava Krama thinker. He seems to have profound knowledge of the system and in his Uddyota on the Netratantra he refers to Krama as a distinct system[6]. In fact it is difficult to point out even a single work except the Vṛtti on the Stava-cintāmaṇi , from his printed works in which he has not specifically referred to the Krama or Mahārtha system. In his Uddyota on the Svacchanda Tantra he does the same.[7]

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1. Abhinava, p.254.

2. St.C.V., p.130; N.T.U.,II,p.343; Sp.N.,p.77.

3. N.T.U.,II,p.343 - संसाररिपुनिर्मथिशूरः शूरसमाश्रयः ।
श्रीरामादिगुरुग्रामस्तथान्तेवासिनो परे ॥
भट्टरक्तिकगर्गेशकेशवाद्या ह्यर्थनाम् ।
अकार्षुर्मे ततः किंचिदिदमुद्योतितं मया ॥

4. श्रीब्रह्मदेवादिगुरुक्रमाद्यः श्रुत्वा चिरं व्याकृतवान्स्वतन्त्रम् ।
श्रीमान्प्रयागो गुरुस्तथान्ये तेऽभ्यर्थनायां पुनरप्रवृत्तौ ॥ Sv.T.,VI,p.146.

5. उद्योतेऽत्र तमामृशन्तु गुरवः श्रीशंकराज्ञाधराः... Ibid,II,p.332.

6. अतश्च अयं प्रणवादिसाधारणमन्त्रान्तराणां क्रमकुलमतषडर्धादिविशेषम -
त्राणामपि च । N.T.U.,II,p.11.

7. Sv. T.T.,p.11.

The Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya[1] and Śiva-stotrāvalī-vivṛti[2] abound in references to Krama. Likewise, his commentary on the Śiva-sūtras called Vimarśinī[3] and those on the Spanda-kārikās known as Spanda-Sandoha[4] (on the first Sp.K. alone) and Spanda-nirṇaya[5] are no exception to the rule. His attachment to the system appears to be so deep that he spares no opportunity to elucidate, present or expound the Krama tenets. He even goes to the length of interpreting the entire Spand philosophy in terms of Krama.[6] His own pronouncements make it sure that he planned and achieved this on conscious level. In addition he also commented upon certain sūtras from the Kram-sūtras by some earlier authority[7]. This incidence has prompted scholars to credit

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1. pp. 58-59, 64-66, 69-71, 77-78, 81, 85-86, 92-94, 101-102 etc.

2. pp. 32, 48, 55, 106, 140, 159, 199, 206, 340, 346 etc.

3. The 2nd chapter deals with Śāktopāya which is identical with the Krama system, vide pp.20-23.

4. Pp. 8,11-12, 16, 19-22.

5. Pp. 6-7, 20, 38, 42, 49, 62, 74.

6. एवम् ... प्रथमचरमसूत्राभ्यां महार्थतत्त्वम् .. इति स्पन्दतत्त्वेनैव विश्वोपदेशः स्वीकृताः । Sp.N., p.49.

7. एवं चोपक्रमोपसंहारयोर्महार्थसंपुटीकारं दर्शयन् तत्सारतया समस्तशाङ्करोपनिष-न्मूर्धन्यतामस्याविष्करोति शास्त्रस्य । Ibid, p.74.

7. तदुक्तं पूर्वगुरुभिः स्वभाषामयेण क्रमसूत्रेण । P.Hṛ.,p.77.
यथोक्तं क्रमसूत्रेण ... । अत्रायमर्थः । Ibid,pp.99-100.

him with the authorship of a Ṭīkā on the Krama-sūtras.[1] However, the bulk of available material fails to substantiate it conclusively. Because nowhere - neither in the Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya where a reference has been made to the two sutras of the Krama-sūtras and their explanation by Kṣemarāja[2], nor in the Parimala of Maheśvarānanda[3] wherein the entire portion with regard to the Krama Sūtras has been adopted verbatim from the Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya - one comes across any statement that he wrote a commentary on it. Hence it is doubtful and difficult both to maintain his having written such a work. But he did write some works is pretty clear from his own and Maheśvarānanda's statements to this effect. The latter is indebted to him for his exposition of Pañcavāha, a Krama concept.[4] Extracts from his own Stotras in Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya[5] and Śiva-stotrāvalī-vivṛti[6] entertain an unmistakable Krama undertone.

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1. Abhi., pp.256-257, 485-86.
2. Vide Fn. No.7 on preceding page and No.1 above.
3. यदुक्तं श्रीक्रमसूत्रेषु .. यथा च व्याख्यातं श्रीमत्क्षेमराजेन । M.M.P., p.166.
4. एताश्च श्रीक्षेमराजादिभिः पुस्तकेषु लिखितपठिता इत्यस्माभिरपि नामोपादान-पूर्वकं चाकित्येन व्याख्याता इति । Ibid, p.90.
5. स्तुतं च मया - स्वतन्त्रश्चितिचक्राणां चक्रवर्ती महेश्वरः।
   संविद्देवताचक्रजुष्टः कोऽपि जयत्यसौ ।। इति, p.101.
6. तथा च ममैव - प्रज्ञामन्दरमन्थितासममहाभेदोदधेरुद्गता-
   न्यद्वैतोपविवर्तनाभिरभितो दुग्धामृतान्यादराद् ।
   वीचित्वा कुविकल्पदैन्यविरहं भूतीरनादृत्य ये
   पायं पायमहो पिबन्ति जगति श्लाघ्यास्त एवामराः ।। इति,
   P.296.

Dr. Pandey has enumerated as many as eighteen works that are ascribed to Kṣemarāja.[1] The mere number of the works attempted makes him a formidable author. The list of Dr. Natarajana swells upto the twenty.[2] But the following works noticed by Dr. Pandey, are missed by him:-

(i) Dhvanyālokalocanodyota

(ii) A Commentary on the Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya

(iii) A commentary on the Krama-Sūtra.

(iv) A Stotra

(v) Vṛtti on the Parameśa Stotrāvalī of Utpala.

The following works recorded by Natarajan , however, seem to have escaped the notice of Dr. Pandey :-

(i) Ṣaṭtriṃśat-tattva-sandoha

(ii) Paramārtha Saṃgraha

(iii) Vāmodaya

(iv) Śivastotra

(v) Spandanilaya

(vi) Svacchandanaya

It is unfortunate that Dr. Natarajan has not disclosed the sources of his information in connection with the works noted above. A few necessary remarks might be welcome here.

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1. Abhi., pp.254-256.

2. Contribution, pp. 363-64.

His Udyota on the Vijñāna-bhairava is available only upto the 23rd verse. Śivopādhyāya starts his commentary from the 24th verse[1] finding the Kṣemarāja's commentary henceforward mutilated beyond repairs. The Sāmba-pañcāśikā on which he wrote a commentary, published long ago, is a work of some Sāmba Miśra according to the Ṛjuvimarśinī. Its full name, therefore, is the Sāmba-miśra-Pañcāśikā and the Sāmbapañcāśikā is only an abbreviated form.[2] Hence Kṣemarāja's commentary was also known as Sāmba-miśra-pañcāśikā-vivṛti. The Bhairavānukaraṇa Stotra, fortunately, is not fully lost to us. Like Jayaratha in the case of the Krama-stotra, Kṣemarāja also has preserved fourteen verses from this Stotra in his Vivṛti on the Svacchanda Tantra.[3] Similarly, one manuscript of the Paramārthasāra Saṅgraha-Vivṛti is available at the BORI, Poona.[4] A comparative look into the contents of the MS with the one written by Yogarāja proves beyond doubt their absolute identity and it is through

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1. श्रुतं देव मयेत्यादिप्रश्नग्रन्थार्थबन्धनम् ।
ऊर्ध्वं प्राणादिपद्यान्तं क्षेमराजकृतं शुभम् ॥

V.Bh.V., p.143.

2. साम्बमिश्रपंचाशिका विवृतिरचने श्रीक्षेमराजाचार्यकृते द्रष्टव्यम् ।

Ṛjuvimarśinī by Śivānanda, Press copy of the MS., p.67. Courtesy Braj Vallabha Dwivedi, editor.

3. Sv.T., VI, pp.110-120 (14th Patala).

4. MS. No. 459 of 1875-76.

a scribe's mistake that the authorship has been confused. The colophon ascribes the work to a student of Kṣemarāja.[1] Regarding other works there is no fresh material to add.

But this does not close the list of his possible ventures. Apart from his suspected Krama works, he quotes from his own unnamed work in the *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya*.[2] Jayaratha also cites a passage from him without specifying the precise source.[3] There is a verse in the *Śiva-sūtra-vārtika*[4] by Varadarāja, which gives serious doubts whether ~~Sks~~ Kṣemarāja wrote a commentary on the *Tantrasāra* as well. For want of any internal or collateral evidence the possibility of such a work is not very strong. Nivāsabudda , the author of the *Tātparya-Dīpikā*[5] on the *Tripurā Rahasya* cites a verse from Kṣemarāja. But the same verse is attributed to the

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1. श्रीमत्क्षेमराजस्य सद्गुर्वाम्नायशालिनः ।
   साक्षात्कृतमहेशस्य तस्यान्तेवासिना मया । MS.No.459, volio.33a.

2. P.45.

3. तदुक्तं श्रीक्षेमराजपादैः तदियत्पर्यन्तं यन्मातृकायास्तत्त्वं, तदेव ककारसकार-प्रत्याहारेणानुत्तरविसर्गसंघट्टसारेण कूटबीजेन प्रदर्शितमन्ते ।
   T.A.V.,II,p.178.

4. एतच्छ्रीक्षेमराजेन तन्त्रसारात् समुद्धृतैः ॥
   संवादैः संमतैः सम्यग्वर्णितं निजवार्त्तिकैः । 2.13.14.

5. यदुक्तं क्षेमराजाचार्यैः - ये त्वीश्वरं व्यपदिशन्तिनिमित्तहेतुं
   दत्तस्तिलाञ्जलिरमीभिरिहेशितायै ।
   अन्यागतोपगमनेन वशीकृतस्य
   कामीश्वरस्थितिममी बत संगिरन्ते ॥
   T.R.(J.Kh.),pp.104-105.

Āgamarahasya by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in the Spanda-Pradīpikā.[1] Owing to Bhaṭṭa Utpala's chronological antiquity the proposition seems unlikely that Kṣemarāja was the author of this verse or the work from which the verse is quoted. In addition to these he has cited several other passages ascribed to himself,[2] which are not traceable to the available works either in print or manuscript. Among his works the Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya was popular as Śakti Sūtra[3] and its commentary by him as Śakti Sūtra Bhāṣya[4] in the Tripurā circles. The Kāmakalā-vilāsa refers to it as the Pratyabhijñā-sūtra[5] and also as the Hṛdaya-sūtra[6]- a name that has been usually in vogue for Utpala's Pratyabhijñākārikās among the Śaivist schools.

The various stages in his creative thining may be discerned in the chronological order on his own testimony.[7] He had his first philosophical encounter with the Spanda system. First, he wrote the SpandaSaṁdoha followed by the Spanda-nirṇaya in which he perceptibilly deviated from the

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1. Sp.P., p.23.
2. Sv.T.,I,p.108; VI,p.16.
3. Moginīhṛdaya-Dīpikā, pp.13, 16, 70, 107.
4. Ibid, pp.16,70.
5. K.K.V., pp. 3,13,26.
6. Ibid, p.2.
7. S.S.Vi, pp. 3,12; Sp.N.,pp.1, 7; P.Hr., p.63; St.C.V., p.126.

traditional Spanda schoolmen. The Pratyabhijñā was his next ~~fxxx~~ field in which he produced his two famous works, namely, Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya and Svacchanda-tantra-Uddyota. This was followedby his illustrious commentary on the Śiva-sūtras called Vimarśinī. Similarly, his commentaries on the Stava-Cintāmaṇi and Netra Tantra too, came after that on the Svacchanda Tantra. During this period he continued his other literary and philosophical minor ventures, allusions to which are splashed through all his works.

He has tremendous respect for his teacher and has closely drawn on him for whatever has passed through under his pen. Yet he never compromised reason and originality with love and reverence. His own pronouncements to the effect amply bear out his claim.[1] In the last verse of his Spanda-Saṁdoha[2] he makes it absolutely clear that though he owes much of the Spanda doctrine to Abhinava, yet whatever he has written embodies this own reflections as well.

From the verses at the end of the Vivṛti on the Stavacintāmaṇi, it is manifest that he lived at the Vijayeśvara, the modern Bijbihara (in Kashmiri Vyajibror), a town about thirty miles off Srinagar on the eastern side

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1. P.Hr., p.84; Sp.N., p.13, 34, 36, 77; S.S.Vi, p.146; Sv.T. I, p.108.

2. श्रुत्वा सम्यगिदं प्रभोरभिनवात्संस्मृत्वा च किंचिन्मया
क्षेमेणार्थिजनेन विवृतं श्रीस्पन्दसूत्रं मनाक् ।।

where, on persuasion of his pupil Śūra, he finished within a couple of days the writing of his commentary on the Stavacintāmaṇi of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa[1] who was Kṣemarāja's grandteacher also.[2]

Thus, there is no doubt that his contribution to the Kashmir Śaivism as well as the Krama system is inferior only to his redoubtable master.

5-(XXIII). VARADARĀJA (1000-1050 .A.D) alias KṚṢṆADĀSA

Varadarāja perhaps did not write any treatise pertaining to Krama. The only factor that has necessitated his present treatment consists in the fact that his work, Śiva-sūtra-vārtika, contains important material enough to indicate the historical development of the Krama concepts and ideas[3]. In the next part of the thesis every opportunity has been exploited to deal with this aspect of his contributions in their relative contexts. In this connection it has to be stressed that dispite his enormous debt to Kṣemarāja,

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1. तेनार्थिप्रणयाद् दिनैस्त्रिचतुरैर्या क्षेमराजो व्यधात् ।
   क्षेत्रे श्रीविजयेश्वरस्य विमले सैषा शिवाराधनी ॥
   St.C.V.,p.130; also See, Introduction, Sv.T.I, p.vii.

2. विवृतिश्चात्र तत्रभवत्स्तुतिसूक्तकारप्रशिष्यमहामाहेश्वराचार्यश्रीमदभिनवगुप्तपाद-
   पद्ममधुपराजस्य राजानकक्षेमराजस्य । Colophon to St.C.V.,p.130.

3. Vide his Vārtika on the S.S. 1.6, 7,12,17,22; 2-5, 6; 3.16, 43.

he does add a touch of his own with regard to the presentation of the Krama dicta.

The __Śivasūtravārtika__ is his famous work which he has wholly drawn on Kṣemarāja's __Śivasūtravimarśinī__ as confessed by him.[1] In addition to this, he appears to have written a book called __Laghu-vṛtti-vimarśinī__[2] whose manuscript is available in the Curator's Office Library, Trivendrum[2]. In the opening verses the author calls himself as Kṛṣṇadāsa[3] (and this agrees with the colophon[4]) and tells that it is a commentary on the __Parātriṁśikā__[5]. There is no problem in identifying the authors of the two works. Because in his __Vārtika__ also he gives out his other name as Kṛṣṇadāsa.[6] Besides, at both the places he refers to Madhurāja. In the __Vārtika__ he presents himself as his youngest son[7] and in the __Laghuvṛtti-vimarśinī__ as Mādhura's student[8]. In the latter work

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1. महामाहेश्वरश्रीमत्क्षेमराजमुखोद्गताम् ।अनुसृत्यैव सद्वृत्तिमंजसा क्रियते मया ।।
   वार्तिकं शिवसूत्राणां वाक्यैरेव तदीरितैः ।
   S.S.V. 1.5-6; also see 2.13-14;3.214.
2. MS.No.1074 D, C.O.L.No.2108D, DCSMCOL,Trivendrum,Vol.V,p.2401.
3. श्रीकृष्णदासः कुरुते लघुवृत्तिविमर्शिनीम् । Ibid,
4. इति श्रीकृष्णदासकृतिः श्रीलघुवृत्तिविमर्शिनी सम्पूर्णा । Ibid.
5. श्रीपरात्रींशिकाख्यस्य सूत्ररूपस्य त्रिकशास्त्रस्य उदारतो गुर्वीम् ग्रन्थतो लघीयसीं
   वृत्तिम्... लघुवृत्तिं चिकीर्षुः तत्प्रतिज्ञेयमनुत्तरज्योतिरनुसंधत्ते । Ibid.
6. मयावरदराजेन .. ।कृतिनाकृष्णदासेन व्यंजितं कृपयांजसा। S.S.V.,3.124-15.
7. मधुराजकुमाराणां महाहन्ताधिरोहिणाम् ।
   पश्चिमेन तदालोकध्वस्तपश्चिमजन्मना । S.S.V.3.213.
8. परानुत्तरसंघट्टपरमार्थप्रबोधकाः ।जयत्यभिनवाचार्यचरणाम्भोज_रेणवः ।।
   श्रीमाधुरमहाचार्यचरणाम्भोजषाट्पदः ।श्रीकृष्णदास ..... ।।
   DCSMCOL,Trivendrum,V,p.2401.

he throws a veiled hint at his being a direct disciple of Abhinava.[1] In fact Madhurāja and Mādhura are the same persons. Madhurāja himself refers to it in his Gurunātha-Parāmarśa [2]. According to P.N. Pushpa, Mādhura is a place name and is identical with modern Madurai[3]. If such be the case, which it is probably the case owing to the extensive countrywide tours of Madhurāja, it forms a prelude to Kashmir's cultural and intellectual intercourse with the South that reached its culmination in Śivānanda, Mahāprakāśa and Maheśvarānanda from Cola (Modern Karnatak).

The date of Varadarāja may be settled easily. On the basis of a probable interpretation of the phrase used by Madhurāja, e.g.,"Siddha-viśākha-kṛpāmṛta-varṣe" , Dr.Pandey hypothetically places Madhurāja in the Saptarṣi year 4167 (1093 A.D.) when he was Eighty years of age.[4] On this calculation, he would be 28 years old during the year 1014-15 when the Īśvara-Pratyabhijñāvivṛti-vimarśinī of Abhinava was completed.[5] This would naturally place Varadarāja somewhere between 1020-1080 A.D.

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1. See fn. 8 on preceding page.
2. अथाष्टसप्ततितमे वयसीह वर्तन् वाचा सुधारसमुचा सह माधुरोऽस्मि । Verse 39.
3. Prefatory to Gurunāthaparāmarśa, p.ii
4. Vide Abhi., p.259.
5. Ibid., p.285.

But on certain additional evidence Varadarāja seems to have flourished little earlier. The 38th verse of the Gurunāthaparāmarśa explicitly mentions Madhurāja's age at 74 when he first visited Abhinava[1]. He lived there for four years at his master's feet and was 78 when he composed Gurunātha-Parāmarśa.[2] At that time, Abhinava, was alive. On the above calculation it would appear that Madhurāja visited Abhinava during 1060-61 A.D. and remained with him till 1064-65 A.D. This would be probably stretching the date of Abhinava beyond proportions. Moreover Varadarāja, though closely following Kṣemarāja, does not introduce himself as latter's pupil. Instead, he flashes a subtle hint that he was taught by Abhinava and Madhurāja both. In that case, he might have been of mature age when his father approached Abhinava, because then his father himself was 74. Since he follows the Vimarśinī of Kṣemarāja which was among the latter's last works, he comes to be his slightly junior contemporary and may be placed around 1000-1050 A.D. It therefore seems likely that the interpretation of the verse, alluded to above, requires a further probe.

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1. चतुरधिकसप्ततितमे वर्षे मम वर्तमानेऽस्मिन् ।
पितुरधिगतमपि बाल्येऽप्यभिनवमिव भाति गुप्तमर्घ्यापि ॥

2. विस्तीर्णसद्गुरुपदस्मरणप्लवेन निस्तीर्णभीमतरभैरवघोप्रवाहः ।
अथाष्टसप्ततितमे वयसीह वर्ते वाचासुधारसमुचा सह माधुरोऽहम् ॥

G.N.P., verse 39.

5.(XXIV). DEVABHAṬṬA (DEVAPĀṆI ?) (1025-1075 A.D.)

Maheśvarānanda refers to himself as a devout adherent to the school of Devapāṇi and accordingly admits that the functional cycles are to be adored in the order that commences with Sṛṣṭicakra and closes with Bhāsā cakra.[1] He rejects any alternative arrangement. Beyond this one knows nothing of Devapāṇi.

Of late certain material has come to notice that may help one hazard a guess in this regard. Dr. Raghavan has invited the attention of the scholars to a work, Anuttara-śrīgurupaṅkti-parāmarśa, by name[2]. The MS belongs to the Madras University Library and bears the No. MD 15330. The work deals with the linear chronology of the Pratyabhijñā authors in the following sequence - Somānanda, Utpala, Lakṣmaṇagupta, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and Śūra. Śūra is mentioned as a pupil of Kṣemarāja. The author of this "Gurupaṅkti" is one Deva Bhaṭṭa, who describes himself as a pupil of Śūra.[3] We are not aware whether or not Devapāṇi can be equated with this Devabhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭa being an honorific title or surname. There

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1. तत्रोद्दिष्टभंग्या सृष्ट्यादिभासान्तं चक्रं श्रीदेवपाणिसम्प्रदायानुप्रविष्टैरस्माभि-
रनुसन्धीयते, न पुनरेतद्विपर्ययेण । M.M.P., p.108.

2. Vide The Works of Abhinavagupta, JORI , XIV-IX, p.327.

3. तस्यापि शूरनामाभूत् .... ।
.... ॥
....
बहुधेत्थं शिवज्ञानमेतस्मादेव देशिकात् ।
अधीत्यदेवभट्टेन प्रोक्ता संतानसंकथा ॥ Quoted, ibid.

is another name ending with the word Pāṇi, e.g., Cakrapāṇi, among the Krama authors to be discussed subsequently. He has also been referred to as Cakranātha instead of Cakrapāṇi.[1] Hence, it does not seem utterly irrelevant to view Devapāṇi's whereabouts in this perspective.[2]

If, at all, such possibility is conceded, Devapāṇi's (?) date is fairly certain, since he comes next to Śūra, the pupil of Kṣemarāja (975-1025 A.D.) and may, therefore, be assigned to a period about 1025-1075 A.D. But, it may be repeated, it is a mere hypothesis.

5-(XXV). HRASVANĀTHA (1025-1075 A.D.)

With Hrasvanātha one enters into one of the most complicated arenas of the Krama history. His advent is a landmark in the Krama annals, because he heads a tradition that has produced the texts of the eminence of the Cidgagana-Candrikā and Mahānaya-prakāśa(s) etc.

His time may be discussed first, since it is the main hurdle. The forthcoming paragraphs are addressed to examining the relevant data to the extent available and

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1. इति चक्रनाथचक्रशब्दाभ्यामात्मनः चक्रपाणिनाम द्योतयति । B.U.V., p.44.
2. Dr.Raghavan also refers to a work named Śivasūtra-vārtika in the MS No.21 (other details missing) by one Bhiṣag Devarāja. JORI, XIV-IV, p.328. His silence over other aspects of the author or text makes it meaningless to derive any implication whatsoever.

allowing each factor and evidence to suggest its own conclusion. It may, however be pointed out that Cakrabhānu's date is a key-factor in deciding the date of Hrasvanātha. Let us take these data one by one.

(i) JAYARATHA (1150-1200 A.D.) refers to Hrasvanātha, Bhojarāja and Somarāja in a succession.[1] Hrasvanātha, therefore, must precede Jayaratha and, in view of the intervening generations, be placed around 1075-1125 A.D. In other words he should not be later than this date.

(ii) According to a tradition current in Jayaratha's time[2], the series of the Krama teachers from Keyūravatī (825-875 A.D.) to Bhūtirāja, the pupil of Cakrabhānu, (both inclusive) account for sixteen generations of Krama. In other words, the distance between Keyūravatī and Cakrabhānu (both exclusive) spreads over thirteen generations. Allowing 25 years to each generation (i.e. about 325 years) he may be placed around 1150-1175 A.D., since Keyūravatī belongs to the second and third quarters of the ninth century. But at this point another tradition, recorded by Jayaratha,[3] steps in.

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1. श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि इति न पचैव शिष्याः श्रीभोजराजनाम्नः षष्ठस्यापि संभवात्, तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचदाणेन श्रीसोमराजेन । T.A.V., III, p.196.
2. श्रीकेयूरवतीतः प्रभृति श्रीचक्रभानुशिष्यान्तम् ।
संततयोऽतिनयस्य प्रथिता इह षोडशैवेत्थम् ॥ Ibid, p.195
3. तथा हि अत्र श्रीककारदेव्यास्तस्याः
'प्रकृतमहानयशिष्याः प्रथितास्त्रयः सर्वशास्तु ।' [इति त्रय एव शिष्याः इति न वाच्यं - श्रीगोविन्दराजश्रीभानुकयोरपि तच्छिष्यत्वात् नवेरकनाथश्चास्याः शिष्यः । Ibid, pp.195-96.

It does not take the first six pupils of Keyūravatī in vertical order but in horizontal one, that is, the first six pupils were mutually contemporary. Hence, Cakrabhānu's removal from Keyūravatī is cut short from 13 to 8 generations (13 - 6 = 7, + 1 representing of all the six disciples). The approximate date of Cakrabhānu may, therefore, be put in the vicinity of 1025-1075 A.D. This conclusion is further substantiated by Jayaratha's final premise[1] that twenty generations account for the entire preceptorial tradition from Śivānanda to Bhūtirāja, pupil of Cakrabhānu. Among these, first generation has three teachers (Keyūravatī etc.) and the second six (Govindarāja etc.). Thus Cakrabhānu (and not his pupil) is removed from Śivānanda not by twenty but by ten generations (both exclusive). Ten we say, because between Śivānanda and Cakrabhānu seventeen (excluding both as well as Cakrabhānu's pupil) generations have intervened. If we deduct seven generations (not nine because three pupils would account for one and the other six for the other generation) from seventeen the gap is reduced to ten. Computing it from Śivānanda (800-850 A.D.) upto Cakrabhānu a period of 250 years seems to have elapsed. Cakrabhānu, therefore, comes close to the era (1050-1100 A.D.) as discussed above.

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1. तदेषा क्रमकुलचतुष्टयाश्रयभेदाभेदोपदेशतो नाथः ।
सप्तदशैव शिष्यानित्थं चक्रे सवंशनिवेशान् ॥ [इति नियमो न न्याय्यः -
शिष्यद्वयस्य अस्य अपरिगणनात् अन्यस्यापि कस्यचिच्छिष्यस्य संभाव्यमानत्वात्।

T.A.V., III, p.195.

(iii) Jayaratha has drawn our attention to the fact that Hrasvanātha either possessed a commentary in manuscript form on the Kram-stotra (of Siddhanātha) orelse wrote a commentary on it.[1] Whatever be the case, Hrasvanātha therefore cannot be placed earlier than 925-975 A.D., the date of the Stotrakāra. From Jayaratha's description it is obvious that people had started speculating about the number of the verses in and the central theme of the Krama Stotra and, accordingly, numerous commentaries had come into existence.[2] Therefore an allowance has to be made for the adequate lapse of time between the Stotra and Hrasvanātha so as to give rise to the controversies with regard to the Stotra. A hundred years' gap may be sufficient to account for the confusion. Consequently his date falls about 1025-1075 A.D. On this count, Bhojarāja and Somarāja, being the consecutive successors, would naturally be placed around 1050-1100 A.D. and 1075-1125 A.D. respectively.

(iv) Jayaratha quotes two verses from Somarāja describing his preceptorial ancestry.[3] It is to be noted that Hrasvanātha was removed from Somarāja only by one generation, e.g., Bhojarāja. It was natural for Soma to come at the end

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1. श्रीह्रस्वनाथेनापि स्वलिपिविवरणोऽस्य दृष्टत्वात् । T.A.V., III, p.202
2. सर्वेषामेव च विवरणकृतामत्र प्रतिपदं पाठानां श्लोकानां व्यत्यासो दृश्यते, इत्यस्मद्दृष्टस्व पाठे क इवायं प्रद्वेषः । Ibid, p.202.
3. Ibid, p.196.

of the tradition since he himself is recording the tradition.[1]

(v) In this connection the Cidgaganacandrikā also traces the origin of the tradition to Śivānanda and places Soma at the end of the tradition.[2] The place of Cakrabhānu comes in-between and he is referred to as the pilot(ānanāgra) among the pupils. It is therefore implicit in it that Soma came at the end of that tradition which was presided over by Cakrabhānu.

(vi) Cakrabhānu is described by Śitikaṇṭha as marking the end of human tradition (Mānavaugha) but constituting the beginning of the line of disciples (Śiṣyaugha). With Hrasvanātha the human tradition begins.[3] In other words Hrasvanātha precedes Cakrabhānu. This tradition was in course of time handed down to Śitikaṇṭha.

(vii) Since (a) Hrasvanātha precedes Cakrabhānu,[4] (b)Soma or Somaraja comes at the end of the tradition presided by Cakrabhānu,[5] and (c) only one generation intervenes between

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1. तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचक्षाणेन श्रीसोमराजेन ।
T.A.V.,III,p.196.

2. यः शिवात् प्रभृतिसोमपश्चिमस्त्ववक्रमैकरसिको गुरुक्रमः ।
आननाग्रमिह चक्रभानुतो यस्त्वमेतदुभयं त्वया मया ।
C.G.C.4.121.

3. मानवौघनेत्रराशी ह्रस्वनाथेति त्रिरूपस्य कुलारणि ... उत्पत्तिस्थानम् ,
ततश्च मानवौघस्यान्ते शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भानुपादः .. । M.P.(S),p.107.

4. Ibid.

5. C.G.C.4.121.

Hrasvanātha and Somarāja,[1] the gap between Hrasvanātha and Somarāja is necessarily filled by Cakrabhānu on the one hand and Bhojarāja on the other.

(viii) To come back to dates again. It has been seen that the *Cidgaganacandrikā* takes note of a tradition headed by Śivānanda and concluded with Soma. The author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* claims to have learnt the secrets of the system from Somaputra, i.e., Soma's son.[2] That is, the author of the *Cidgaganacandirkā* chronologically succeeds the son of Soma. This text has been frequently quoted by Maheśvarānanda in his *Parimala* on the *Mahārthamañjarī*.[3] Maheśvarānanda is assigned to the close of twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth (1175-1225 A.D.) century. In the circumstances the following picture of the authors' succession emerges :-

Cakrabhānu
:
Soma
:
Somaputra
:
Author of the C.G.C.(Śrivatsa?)
:
Maheśvarānanda (1175-1225 A.D.)

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1. T.A.V.,III,p.196.
2. सोमपुत्रमपनेष्यमद्गतस्त्वत्क्रमोऽद्य किमपि स्तुतो मया । C.G.C. 4.125.
3. Vide M.M.P.,pp. 28, 53, 71, 73, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99,102, 103-104, 110, 124, 131, 145, 254, 267.

Thus one arrives at Cakrabhānu's probable period which falls about 1075-1125 A.D. Hrasvanātha, owing to his historical priority, would naturally belong to 1050-1100 A.D.

(ix) In this connection a point must be considered. The last verse of the Cidgaganacandrikā mentions the name of its author as Śrīvatsa[1]. If this Śrīvatsa is taken to be identical with one, who is Maṅkha's friend and contemporary[2], Śrīvatsa would be placed round about 1125-1175 A.D., because Maṅkha was a court-minister of King Jayasiṅha[3] (1127-1151 A.D).

In that case the son of Soma, Soma and Cakrabhānu would naturally come around 1100-1150, 1075-1125 and 1050-1100 A.D. respectively. Contemporaneous with Cakrabhānu, Bhojarāja would also be placed during 1050-1100 A.D. Hrasvanātha being an immediate precursor of Cakrabhānu would automatically date back by a generation, i.e., 1025-1075 A.D.

Thus from all these considerations Hrasvanātha may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the eleventh century. Similarly Bhūtirāja, the pupil of Cakrabhānu, may be bracketed with Soma (1075-1125 A.D.).

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1. वत नरार्थं महागुह्यं श्रीवत्सो विदधे स तु ॥ C.G.C. 4.134.

2. S.K.C. 25.82.

3. Ibid, 25.61.

Coming to his creative side, one is not placed in a very happy position to say much about his scholarship and contribution. He was also known by another name, i.e., Vīranāthapāda.[1] If one abides by Dr. Pandey's suggested modification of 'Hrasvanāthenāpi' into 'Hrasvanāthasyāpi[2]', one may be able to say that Hrasvanātha wrote a commentary on the Krama Stotra in his own hand-writing and the same was accessible to Jayaratha. If, however, the original construction is retained, one would have an occasion to say that Hrasvanātha had a manuscript copy of a commentary of his own on the Kram Stotra. A verse from his manuscript of the Krama Stotra which contained an additional verse pertaining to Rudra-kālī, not traceable to other commentaries has been cited by Jayaratha.[3] Hrasvanātha had seen this verse in his script.

Hrasvanātha, too, was not free from the complications of a controversy. Jayaratha criticises a verse that gave the number of his pupils as five, whereas Jayaratha points out that he had six students, the sixth being Bhojarāja[4]. The

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1. श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि ["श्रीवीरनाथपादैः पंच च देवीनये कृताः शिष्याः।"] इति न पंचैव शिष्याः । T.A.V., III, p.196

2. Vide Abhi.,p.473.

3. या सा जगद्ध्वंसयते समग्रं मृत्योर्विग्रसियतीति विष्वक् ।
धामाग्निरूपीयसह्यदीप्तां तां नौमि कालानलरुद्रकालीं । [इति द्वितीयेन श्लोकेन स्तुतिः समस्ति ... अथायमपि भवत्कल्पितस्व श्लोकः, इति चेत् नैतत् - श्रीह्रस्वनाथेनापि स्वलिपिविवरणेऽस्य श्लोकस्य दृष्टत्वात् ।
T.A.V.,III,p.202.

4. इति श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि .... ।
इति न पंचैव शिष्याः -श्रीभोजराजनाम्नः षाष्ठस्यापि संभवात् ।
Ibid,p.196.

controversy, however clarifies the issue of the precise number of his students.

There is one more Hrasvanātha, who is said to have written a work entitled "Advayasampatti." His father's name was Harṣadatta.[1] The problem is whether the two could be identified. Abhinava refers to one Vāmana, author of a commentary on the

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1. श्रीह्रस्वनाथेन हर्षदत्तसूनुनापि अहंकारमयीभूमिः... इत्यादिना अद्वयसंपत्तौ ।

V.Bh.V., p.90.

In the Library of BORI, Poona there is a manuscript of (no.472 of 1875-76) a work called Bodhavilāsa. Its author is some Harṣadatta-sūnu (i.e., son of Harṣadatta.) The colophon reads.

ढा (टा) क (रु) देशसमुद्भूतो मीमांसावनकेसरी ।
हर्षदत्तेति नाम्ना तु तस्यसूनोरियं बोधविलास कृतिः ॥

It is a small work in Śāradā characters. Its author is the son of some Harṣadatta very proficient in the Mīmāṁsā system. But the comparison of the text with the that quoted by Śivopādhyāya from Advayasampatti ascribed to Vāmananātha vide V.Bh. V., pp.78-79 shows their verbatim affinity barring a few minor variations. The only difference between the two texts consists in the four additional verses contained in Bodhavilāsa, two in the beginning and two towards the close. Keeping in view the arguments advanced above it leads one to formulate the following views- (i) Bodhavilāsa was an additional title of the Advayasampatti, (ii) the MS as it is has been copied from the Vivṛti of Śivopādhyāya appending four extra verses to it, (iii) whatever the name of the text it was written by the son of Harṣadatta, (iv) the name of Harṣadatta's son was Hrasvanātha who was possibily also known as Vāmananātha, (v) the work was intended to be a commentary on the Advayasampatti, since Vāmananātha wrote another commentary in addition to the existing one by some body else and (vi) the commentary also went by the name of the original text as the two extracts cited by Śivopādhyāya prove. This is all that may be said at present.

Advaya Sampatti, called Advayasampatti-vārtika.[1] If there is a Vārtika on the Advaya-sampatti of Hrasvanātha, son of Harṣadatta, he gets even remoter and older than Abhinava. Naturally the two cannot be identified. There is an additional support for the above contention. The same quotation is attributed to Vāmananātha by Śivopādhyāya— the same man who attributes Advaya-vārtika to Hrasvanātha, the son of Harṣadatta— in a different context.[2] Here he is spoken of as the author of Dvayasampatti. Actually initial 'A' is missing owing to the scribe's omission. Thus Hrasvanātha alias Vīranāthapāda is different from Hrasvanātha at issue, who was considerably older than the former.

5-(XXVI). CHAKRABHĀNU (1050-1100 A.D.)

A comparative estimate of the various opinions expressed about Cakrabhānu elevates his stature in the eyes of the reader as an eminent Krama author. Regarding his chronological position one needs not say anything as the same has already been considered and determined to be about the second half of the eleventh century.

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1. एष एव श्रीवामनविरचिते अद्वयसंपत्तिवार्तिके उपदेशनयो बोद्धव्यः ।

P.T.V., p.198.

2. द्वयसंपत्तिकारस्तु वामननाथो विवृत्यन्तरम् आह, यथा - अहंकारमयी भूमिः .... ।

V.Bh.V., p.78.

It is to be regretted that no work of his either in reference, manuscript or print has come down today. Hence it is extremely difficult to ascertain the magnitude and nature of his contribution. A few scattered references to him are one's only guide.

With him the main human pedigree (Mānavaugha) of teachers comes to an end and a sub-human series of disciples (Śiṣyaugha) begins. He enjoys a position of unchallanged superiority among all the persons that constitute the chain of disciples (Śiṣyaugha).[1] He was possibly a student of Hrasvanātha, because he belongs to the tradition of Soma,[2] the grand pupil of the former, and because the former had six pupils one of them being Bhojarāja, the teacher of Somarāja[3]. The enviable status enjoyed by Cakrabhānu among the tradition of the disciples is possible only when he is at the helm of the tradition. That this is so has been confirmed by Śitikaṇṭha[4] and the <u>Cidgaganacandrikā</u>[5]. Since Somarāja is separated from Hrasvanātha by one generation, Cakrabhānu together with Bhojarāja must be a pupil of Hrasvanātha.

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1. ततश्च मानवौघस्यान्ते शिष्यौघग्रणीर्भानुपादः । M.P.(S),p.107.

2-5. C.G.C. 4.121.

3-4. vide T.A.V.,III,p.196.

Although he belonged to a different tradition from one adhered to by Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda etc., he came direct in the original tradition of Keyūravatī[1]. As after Keyūravatī etc., many a tradition became afloat within the precints of the Krama system, Cakrabhānu might be associated with one of those traditions. He, through tradition, might be linked with any of the three unnamed disciples of Keyūravatī,[2] since the whereabouts of other three are well-known.

Cakrabhānu had eight pupils, himself being the master of them. Amongst these a lady ascetic called Īśānā was responsible for a fresh tradition which continued uninterrupted till the time of Śitikaṇṭha.[3] His (Cakrabhānu's) role as a Krama teacher has elicited extreme admiration from Śitikaṇṭha.[4]

Till the time of Jayaratha his importance had blurred his actual contribution, so much so that his pupil Bhūtirāja was confused with one of the same name who was Abhinava's teacher in Brahmavidyā[5]. Jayaratha completely rejects the theory as without foundation that Cakrabhānu's pupil was Abhinava's teacher. Jayaratha even goes to the extent of decrying the

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1. T.A.V.,III,p.193.
2. Ibid, pp.195-96.
3. शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भानुपादः अष्टानां शिष्याणां प्रभुः यन्मध्याद् राज्ञी ईशानाख्या स(म)दन्तं पारम्पर्यंनिदानम् । M.P.(S),p.107.
4. तथैव भानुः श्रीचक्रभानुः शिष्यकमलानां विकासकः, इति
5. T.A.V.,III,pp.193-94.

claim of Bhūtirāja as a pupil of Cakrabhānu. Cakrabhānu's abstinence from such type of teaching has been the main source of confusion and consequently numerous interpretations of his views.[1]

Thus the respective stands taken by Jayaratha and Śitikaṇṭha tend to appear paradoxical. In view of the weighty collateral evidence frequently referred to, it is difficult to agree with Jayaratha that he never taught anybody. He, therefore, might be construed to mean that Cakrabhānu never taught any Bhūtirāja and thus the paradox be tentatively reconciled. Possibly this will be a more reasonable attitude towards Jayaratha too.

5-(XXVII). CAKRAPĀNI (1050-1100 /1075-1125 A.D.)

According to the original plan he was to be discussed among the authors of the next generation, but this deviation may bejustified on the ground that the above discussion has prepared the ground conducive to hazarding certain suggestions in the context.

The Research Department of Kashmir Government has brought out as the 14th Volume of Kashmir series of Texts

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1. इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत्त्वाप्रदितमेव - इत्युपेक्ष्यम् । नहि श्रीचक्रभानुना प्राय: कस्यचिदपि स्वमुपदिष्टम् - तन्मूलतयैव इदानीमस्योपदेशस्य शतशो दर्शनात् ।

T.A.V., III, pp. 193-94.

and Studies a work called Bhāvopahāra ascribed to one Cakrapāṇi with a commentary by Ramyadeva. The Bhāvopahāra, on going through its contents, transpires to be a Krama stotra. Ramyadeva's commentary, totally actuated by the Krama ideology leaves no doubt about it . It precise philosophical views have been fully taken into account at appropriate occasions during the course of philosophical treatment. Ramyadeva in the opening verses of his commentary[1] and in his commentary[2] on the last verse[3] of the Stotra gives out the name of the author of the Stotra as Cakrapāṇi who has been variously called Cakranātha and Cakreśa etc.

Coming to the personal details and time of Cakrapāṇi one finds a veil of mystery surrounding it. Let us try to pierce through it.

The commentator of the work is Ramyadeva who also refers to a work of his son also.[4] Now both of these, father and son, are described by Maṅkha as members of his brother Lankaka's intellectual club.[5] Ramyadeva, therefore,

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1. जयत्यकामोदितरश्मिकल्पस्वशक्तिपुंजात्मक चक्रनाथः ।।

B.U.V.,p.1.,v.2.

देवं चक्रं श्रये क्रीडाक्रोडीकृतकृतान्तकम् ।

Ibid.,verse 3.

2. इति चक्रनाथचक्रेशशब्दाभ्याम् आत्मनः चक्रपाणिनाम द्योतयति ।

Ibid,p.44.

3. महापाशुपतोद्यानं कश्चिद्विश्रम्य तापसः ।
चक्रे चिच्चक्रनाथस्य शम्भोर्भावनुतिं पराम् ।।

B.U.,verse 47.

4. B.U.V.,p.6.
5. S.K.C.,25.33,36.

appears to be a senior contemporary of Maṅkha (1125-1175 A.D.) and may be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century (1100-1150 A.D.). The Bhāvopahāra, in the fitness of things, would precede this period, that is, the lower limit of the Bhāvopahāra's period would not go below 1075-1125 A.D. The work cannot be much older, because no Krama author upto Devabhaṭṭa (1025-1075 A.D.) takes note of it. Moreover the language of the Stotra and the contents both have a greater imprint of mysticism and esoteric symbolism which are definitely signs of the later phase of the Krama system.

During this period there is only one person, except Cakrapāṇi, who has the word Cakra forming part of his name. He is Cakrabhānu. He is a known Krama author. Will it, therefore, be incongruous and without basis to identify Cakrapāṇi with Cakrabhānu? Cakrabhānu's time is about 1050-1100 A.D. Cakrapāṇi's probable time is not later than 1075-1125 A.D. Thus a gap of twentyfive years is not an unbridgeable gap and since there is rather greater certainty about Cakrabhānu's date, it will be better to push the date of Cakrapāṇi slightly back. If this equation be conceded, one would be in a better position to appreciate the creative aspect of Cakrabhānu's genius.

5-(XXVIII). BHOJARĀJA (1050-1100 A.D.)

Whatever little is known about him, has already been brought to notice. A few points of information alone

remain to be given here. As seen already, Bhojarāja as a sixth student of Hrasvanātha and a contemporary of Cakrabhānu, belongs to the latter half of the eleventh century. He was also known by his other name, i.e., Vāmanabhānu. Somarāja, from whom Jayaratha quotes, while giving out his preceptorial pedigree in two verses, figuratively suggests that Bhojarāja perhaps wrote a work, the Kramakamala by name, on the system. Because in both the passages he is portrayed as an adept in letting the Krama-kamala bloom. One knows of a similar title, e.g., Kula-kamala, belonging to the Kula system. Hence it is not at all improbable that he might have written some such work. He was a man of high spiritual attainments.[1]

Sri Braj Vallabha Dwivedi in his essay, read before the 22nd AIOC, raises an important question in this connection.[2]

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1. तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचक्षाणेन श्रीसोमराजेन -

श्रीमद्वामनभानुः क्रमकमलविकासने चतुरः ।
जयति षडध्वप्रोज्झितपरनभसि निबद्धसंतानः ॥
येन ध्वस्तः समस्तो गहनतरमहामोहान्धकारो
दत्तः सम्यक्प्रकाशः क्रमकमलवनोल्लासविश्रान्तरूपः ।
प्राप्ता येनैव संविन्निरुपमरसास्वाद संयोगभोगा
वन्दे श्रीभोजराजं गुरुवरमहितं पूज्यमर्हद्भिरन्तः ॥ इति ।

T.A.V., III, pp.196-97.

2. त्रिपुरादर्शनव्याख्यायां परिचिता तत्कृतयश्च , IS.Su., XX-2, pp.23-24.

According to him the Rjuvimarśinī by Śivānanda refers to one Dīpakanātha who was ostensibly influenced by Bhojarāja. This Dīpakanātha is one among the Tripurā teachers preceding Jayaratha. According to the Tripurā-tradition, Dīpakanātha is posterior to Dharmācārya who is the author of the Laghustava, and for that matter, the Pañcastavī, on the authority of Amṛtānanda, the author of the Saubhagya-Sudhodaya. The 18th verse of the third Stavī has been quoted by Bhojarāja in the fifth chapter of Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇa and a verse from the same Stavī has also been cited by Mammaṭa in the 10th chapter of his Kāvya Prakāśa. Thus Dharmācārya is definitely anterior to Bhojarāja and Mammaṭa. His successor (not necessarily immediate) Dīpakanātha is said to have been demonstratably influenced by Bhojarāja. Now the question is who is this Bhojarāja- the author of the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa or a different one.

Mr. Dwivedi has raised an important problem. It is difficult to say that the problem can be answered easily. Yet, an annexutre may be added to the question itself.

From the above presentation it is definite that whosoever this Bhojarāja might be, he does belong to the same period as do Dīpakanātha etc. The author of the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa and the Tattva-prakāśikā (a Śaiva text) is identified with the king Bhoja of Dhara whose period is taken to be 1018-1060 A.D. by Smith.[1] Now, this

1. Referred, Abhinava. p.172.

Bhojarāja, the Krama author, has been assigned above to the period 1050-1100 A.D. It is, however not definitely known whether all these Bhojas are one or different. But as a hypothesis one must consider the issue if Bhojarāja, the Krama author, can lay any claim to influencing Dīpakanātha. In the history of the tantric system, however, such cross-influences or synthetic personalities do not present an unusual spectacle.

5-(XXIX). SOMARĀJA (1075-1125 A.D.)

Somarāja came next to Hrasvanātha, his teacher, in order of succession. He probably wrote a work which included the details of his preceptorial ancestry. The two verses cited and ascribed by Jayaratha to him are probably from this work.[1] He was the last teacher in the tradition that came direct from Śivānanda[2] and was punctuated with the teachers of the eminence of Cakrabhānu. He had a son who later transmitted the mysteries of the system to the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā*.[3] He, as discussed earlier, may be assigned to the close of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century.

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1. T.A.V.,III,pp.196-97.

2. C.G.C. 4.121.

3. Ibid, ~~p~~ 4.125.

5-(XXX). THE GREAT-GRAND (PARAMEṢṬHĪ) TEACHER OF JAYARATHA (VIŚVADATTA?) (1075-1125 A.D.)

The Parameṣṭhī guru of Jayaratha is mentioned only once and a verse is also attributed to him by Jayaratha.[1] In fact the verse is very popular among the authors of Kashmir Śaivism and appears in many a text as a benedictory verse. Jayaratha gives the three interpretations of the first verse of the Tantrāloka in accordance with its bearings upon the Kula and Krama systems and Abhinava's parentage respectively. It is in the context of the second, i.e., Krama interpretation that the verse is cited in support of his presentation of the Ultimate Awareness technically called Anākhyā.

Fortunately Jayaratha gives in full both of his geneologies[2] - parental as well as preceptorial. In the line of his teachers one finds only one person, Viśvadatta, who could perhaps be equated with Jayaratha's Parameṣṭhī guru in question.[3] Viśvadatta is the father of Tribhuvan Datta and the grandfather of Subhaṭa Datta who is credited with having performed Jayaratha's initiation.

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1. यदुक्तमस्मत्परमेष्ठिगुरुभिः -
   क्रमत्रयसमाश्रयव्यतिकरेण या संततं
   क्रमत्रितयलंघनं विदधती विभात्युच्चकैः ।
   क्रमैकवपुरक्रमप्रकृतिरेव या द्योतते
   करोमि हृदि तामहं भगवतीं परां संविदम् ॥ T.A.V., I, p.11.
2. T.A.V., XII, pp.430-434.
3. श्रीविश्वदत्तपौत्रस्त्रिभुवनदत्तात्मजः कुलक्रमतः ।
   श्रीसुभटदत्त आसीदस्य गुरुर्यो व्यमाप्यकृत दीक्षाम् ॥ Ibid, p.433.

If one puts the two geneologies side by side, it will be noticed that Viśva Datta was a contemporary of the two great grandfathers of Jayaratha, namely, Guṇaratha and Devaratha. They themselves were grand sons of Utpalaratha, who was a minister of the king Ananta (1028-1063 A.D.), and their eldest uncle, Śivaratha was a minister of king Ucchala (1101-1111 A.D.). Therefore, Guṇaratha and Devaratha may be placed somewhere during 1075-1125 A.D. Viśvadatta being their contemporary would also belong to near about the sameperiod. It may also be noted that Utpalaratha was the maternal uncle as well as a pupil of Vibhūti Datta, the father of Viśva Datta.[1] Vibhūti Datta could not sustain the loss of his elder son and, consequently, completely disillusioned and detatched he could not educate his another son Viśva Datta who was quite young.[2] Viśvadatta was therefore left to the care of Śrīcakra, a student of Vibhūtidatta, and who handed over all the ancestral learning to Viśva Datta.[3]

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1. श्रीमान् विभूतिदत्तो व्यधादमुं मातुलः शिष्यम् ।

2. अध्याप्याखिलसंहिता अपि सुतस्नेहान्निषिक्ते मृते
पुत्रे ज्यायसि दैवतापरिहृतासेकैः दिनैः सप्तभिः ।
वैरस्यान्न कनीयसे स यददाद्बालाय सेकं ततो
देव्या स्वप्नविबोधितोऽस्य तनयस्यैतन्मुखेनास्त्विति ॥ T.A.V., XII, p.430.

3. श्रीचक्राय ददौ द्विजः स भगवान्नुर्वीधरोऽस्मिन्नसौ ।
श्रीचक्राद् स्वपितृक्रमाप्तमखिलं तत्साधिकारं व्यधात् ॥
Ibid, p.431.

Utpalaratha, the maternal grandfathet of Viśva Datta brought the latter to his home and brought him up. When he attained the age, Utpalaratha got a residence erected for him opposite the temple constructed by some Kanaka Datta and gave him sufficient resources - movable and immovable both - in order to relieve him from ~~worldly~~ worldly worries.[1]

It was this Viśvadatta who is possibly referred to as Jayaratha's greatgrand teacher. It is really striking to observe that from the very beginning the teacher and taught relationship had been obtaining between the two ancestral lines- one preceptorial and the other parental - of Jayaratha.

5-(XXXI). SOMA-PUTRA (1100-1150 A.D.)

The author of the Cidgagana-Candrikā expresses his indebtedness to the son of Soma for divulging to him the Krama secrets,[2] or the text on which the former commented. The part of the text that contains this information is very defective, yet the sense may easily be derived. Soma, his father, is the terminal point of the tradition originating from

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1. अथ स परमधामैकात्म्यमाप्ते गुरौ स्वे
निजगृहमुपनिन्ये तत्सुतं विश्वदत्तम् ।...
श्रीकनकदत्तविरचितदेवगृहाग्रे मठं निवासाय ।
कृत्वा ददौ स तस्मै स्थावरधनकनकसंपूर्णम् ॥

T.A.V., XII, p.430.

2. सोमपुत्रमपनेष्यमद्गतस्त्वत्क्रमोऽद्य किमपि स्तुतो मया ।

C.G.C.4.125.

Śivānanda[1]. Being the son of Soma or Somarāja, his time may be determined about 1100-1150 A.D.

5-(XXXII). RAMYADEVA (1100-1150 A.D.)

Ramyadeva is the most important author of his era. His Vivaraṇa on the Bhāvopahāra is undoubtedly a Krama work. Despite the fact that he is more inclined towards esotericism, his commentary does not lack in original flashes.[2] He has tried to point out the specific character of the Krama system.[3] An attempt has been made to take note of his each contribution in its proper place.

In addition to his Vivaraṇa on the Bhāvopahāra, he has written six other works as stated by him. The works are given below :-

(i) Akrama-kallola-kārikā[4]

(ii) Akulakalika-triṁśikā[5]

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1. यः शिवात्प्रभृति सोमपश्चिमस्त्वत्क्रमैकरसिको गुरुक्रमः । C.G.C.4.121.

2. Vide, B.U.V., pp.26,31-32 etc.

3. Vide, ibid, pp.4,22,23,29,38,40 etc.

4. न ह्यक्रमानाख्यपरचिच्चक्रेश्वरीसमुदये कालो नाम कश्चित् उपपद्यते । तदुक्तं मयैवाक्रमकल्लोलकारिकासु-

कालः कालेन काल्यश्चेत् कालः काल्येत केन वा ।
अकाल्य एव कालश्चेत्काल्य एव तथा न किम् ॥
मृत्युः स्फुरत्प्रकाशान्तर्निगीर्णा निगिरेत्कथम् ।
अस्फुरत्प्रकाशत्वात् नान्तर्ग्राह्योऽथवा न किम् ॥ इति । Ibid, p.4.

5. योऽयम् अनारावरावो रावसंघट्टकतया
त्वामजामकृतपंचकारणद्रावणोड्डमरधाममैरवीम् (contd.....

(iii) Śiva-rava-stotra[1]

(iv) Cakreśvara-bhairavāṣṭaka[2]

(v) Śiva-rātri-vicāra-vārtika[3]

(vi) Kṛtānta-tānti-śānti-stava[4]

(contd..... स्तौम्यनाहतहतव्यतिक्रमस्फाररावकृतवीरघट्टनाम् ॥

इत्याद्यस्मद्विरचिताकुलकौलिकात्रिंशिकोक्तस्वरूपः । B.U.V.,p.8;also

उक्तं च मयैवाकुलकालिकात्रिंशिकायाम्-

स्वानन्दतस्त्रिभुवनं कवलं विधाय स्वात्मानमप्यतितरां समदा ग्रसन्ती,

तृप्ता तथाप्यपरिखण्डितनित्यसिद्धस्वातन्त्र्यपूर्णविभवा कृशमूर्तिरव्यात् ॥

इति । Ibid,p.38

1. तदुक्तं मयैव शिवरवस्तोत्रे -

अथवा हृदम्बरगतेन जनिनिधनहीनमूर्तिना ।

चन्द्रविमलमुकुटेन नुतावनुमोदिता मम मतिः प्रवर्तते ॥ इति

Ibid,p.~~29~~.10.

2. तदुक्तं मया चक्रेश्वरभैरवाष्टके -

भूतचतुष्टयकवलनबृंहिततनुगगनमप्यनुच्चचण्डम् ।

परमाणुवत्प्रहीणं यत्र नमस्तन्नुमः शैवम् ॥ इति Ibid,p.29.

3. तदुक्तं मया शिवरात्रिविचारवार्तिके -

नित्यमात्मकरणक्रमोन्मिषच्चित्रभावशतसंनिवेशिनीः ।

निष्क्रियो निजमरीचिनर्तकीर्नर्तयामि परतत्त्वदेशिकः ॥ इति

Ibid,pp.33-34.

4. तदुक्तं मया कृतान्ततान्तिशान्तिस्तवे -

मायेयं बहुरूपतामुपगता नाना यथा ते विभो

विद्याप्येवमनन्तभेदगहना नो चेत्कथं स्यादिदम् ।

नैःस्वाभाव्यगमेन केचन परे वैविक्त्यतः केऽपि वा

सार्वात्म्येन परे तदुत्तरदृशाः मुक्ताः परे सर्वतः ॥ इति

Ibid,p.41.

The third and sixth works are admittedly classed as stotras. The second and fourth are also possibly stotras as a close look into the extracts ascribed to them would reveal. The fifth seems, on the usual pattern, to be a commentary on the text entitled Śivaratnvicāra, which might be from his own pen or from somebody else!s, We do not know. The first appears to be an independent work dealing with the Krama system.

According to the colophon [1] he was the son of Bhaṭṭa Jyogdeva and according to the closing verse of his commentary his teacher's name was Yogānanda. [2] He also cites a verse from his son, [3] but does not give his name. From Maṅkha we know that his name was Loṣṭhadeva [4]. The fact that his son was mature enough so that his father might quote him leads one to think that Ramyadeva wrote this Vivaraṇa at quite an advanced age.

As has been hinted earlier, Ramyadeva was an older contemporary of Maṅkha. According to Maṅkha Ramyadeva was a man of ascetic temperament. He had thorough command over Vedānta and his action bore the imprints of his thought.

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1. इति श्रीचक्रपाणिनाथविरचिते भावोपहारस्तोत्रे विवरणं समाप्तम्, कृतिस्तत्रभवद्भट्टज्योग्देवात्मजभट्टश्रीरम्यदेवस्य ॥ B.U.V., p.44

2. योगानन्दाभिधानद्विजवरवदनायातपीठेशदेवी- पादावद्योतिताशप्रणयनजनितानन्तसोत्साहहर्षः । Ibid.

3. तथा चास्मत्पुत्रः । Ibid, p.6.

4. S.K.C. 25.36.

He was an extremely proficient and generous teacher. He was specially at home in the Kathavallī and was a successful exponent of the Vedānta text called Iṣṭasiddhi.[1] These autobiographical touches no doubt lend special richness to Ramyadeva's manifold personality. It is strange that Maṅkha does not refer to Ramyadeva's attainments in Krama though he was fully conversant with the system.[2] May-be Maṅkha is referring to that aspect only with which people were not so conversant, orelse Maṅkha is taking note of only those aspects of the author's personality that won recognition in the intellectual circle. Ramyadeva and his son Loṣṭhadeva, both are mentioned in the company of Laṅkaka, Laṅkāra or Alaṁkāra, Maṅkha's elder brother[3]. Laṅkaka was a minister statesman under the king Sussala of Kashmir (1112-1127 A.D.).[4] The Rāja-taraṅgiṇī

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1. यस्य व्यनक्ति काषायग्रहमारक्तया रुचा ।
   नित्योपन्याससंक्रान्तवेदान्तार्थं स्वाधरः ॥
   नीत्वा सफलतां वल्लीरिष्टसिद्धिं विवृण्वता ।
   श्रुतीनां पथि शिष्येषु येन कल्पद्रुमायितम् ॥
   निष्तुषीकृतवैदुष्यं स्मयमात्सर्यसंहृतेः ।
   घ्रतप्रणातिपारम्यं रम्यदेवं तमैदात ॥ S.K.C.25.31-33.

2. Ibid, 5.40.

3. Ibid, 25.36.

4. निवेशिते सुस्सलभूबिडौजसा स्वयं गरीयस्यपि संधिविग्रहे ।
   विधाय चक्रे स्वयशोमयीं लिपिं स लेखवर्गस्य विमुद्रमाननम् ॥
   Ibid.3.62.

refers to him as a man of martial achievements.[1] Maṅkha was an officer-in-charge of State administration under king Jayasiṅgha, the son and successor of Sussala.[1] The reign of Jayasiṅha falls between 1127-1159 A.D. Thus the literary circle of his elder brother must have been a long affair spread over from 1112 A.D. to 1159 A.D. Since Ramyadeva is mentioned along with his son, he must be of ripe age when an audience took place between him and Alaṁkāra. It would, therefore, be reasonable if he is assigned to the first half of the twelfth century.

5-(XXXIII). LOṢṬHADEVA (1125-1175 A.D.)

As alluded to above, Ramyadeva quotes a passage from his son with marked overtones of the Krama system.[2] It is possible that his son might have written a treatise on Krama from which a passage has been cited by his father.

Although Ramyadeva does not disclose the name of his son, he is none other than Loṣṭhadeva. This information is furnished by Loṣṭhadeva himself.[3] He was also known as

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1. अनन्तरं सुस्सलदेवनन्दनो यमादराज्श्रीजयसिंहभूपतिः ।
   व्यधात्प्रजापालनकार्यपूरुषं रुषं वितन्वन्नविनीतजन्तुषु ॥
   S.K.C. 3.68.

2. निशाकान्तकला संहारदेवी, तथा चास्मत्पुत्रः
   शिव शिवासनमूर्ध्नि सदा स्थिता विगतकालकलाकलनाक्रमा ।
   कृशतया क्रशिव्यपलापिनी जयति कापि कला विगतक्रमा ॥ इति ।
   B.U.V.,p.6.

3. इतिपरिहृतवान्स्वकाव्यशिल्पप्रकटनमाकुलितोभवव्यथाभिः ।
   व्यधित गिरिश रम्यदेवजन्मा तव पुरतो हृदैन्यतः प्रलापान् ॥
   Dīnākrandanastotra, verse 50.

Loṣṭaka. Being tortured by worldly trammels he diverted his attention from poetry to spiritualism. His work pertaining to Krama might be a product of this period.

Maṅkha has spoken highly of his linguistic accomplishment. He had a linguist's command over six languages and his speech and poetry ~~over~~ were characterised by their flawless felicity and lucidity.[1] Several verses read in praise of Laṅkaka, find place in the Śrīkaṇṭha-carita and and they betray a real poetic flavour in his utterances[2]. He is credited with writing a stotra entitled Dīnākrandanastotra, which has been brought out by Nirnayasagar Press in the Part VI of the Kāvyamālā-series. Towards the close of his life he went to Varanasi, turned ascetic and renounced the world. The stotra gives powerful expression to the pangs of his disillusioned heart pining for the supreme value. He ultimately got peace and in a tranquel mood refers to his achievement.[3] Jalhaṇa, in his Sūkti Muktāvalī attributes

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1. वाग्देवतालिनीलीलाधुतपदातिचातुरीम् । वदनाम्बुरुहे यस्य भाषाः षडधिशेरते ॥

   खलानां यत्प्रबन्धेषु दृढव्युत्पत्तिवर्मसु । प्रोधचोधमया दूरे कुण्ठता इव पत्रिणः ॥

   कतिचिल्लोष्टदेवस्य तस्येति मुखतोऽशृणोत् । श्रीलंकं प्रति प्रीतचारुचाटुरसा गिरः ॥

   S.K.C.25.34-36.

2. Ibid.25.37-47.

3. अभि जन्म वंशे सुमहति विहितौ वाङ्मयाब्धौ हनुमत्तस्मौ दानभोगौ तदनु च रचितौ किंचिदौचित्यरीत्या । ज्ञात्वा तत्त्वं यतित्वं श्रितमथ मथिता [illegible] संसृतिर्दुर्निवारा, वाराणस्यां प्रसन्ना स्थितिरिति कृतिनः किं न मे नाम सिद्धम् ॥

   Dinakrandana Stotra, Verse 52.

a verse to Loṣṭadeva.[1] It, therefore, goes without saying that he was equally gifted in language, literature and philosophy and it is a misfortune that his works, either in Krama or other systems, have not survived the atrocities of time.

5(XXXIV). ŚRĪVATSA : AUTHOR OF THE CIDGAGANACANDRIKĀ (1125-1175 A.D.)

The time of the author of the Cidgaganacandrikā is not so puzzling as his identity. The 'Candrikā is a commentary, described as Pañcikā by him, on the Kramastotra of Siddhanātha. And in autobiographical references he too introduces himself as Kālidāsa[2]. The proposition ascribing the 'candrikā's authorship to Kālidāsa has been reiterated and echoed several times.[3] In addition, the last line of the second opening verse is practically the same as the last

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1. प्रकृत्यैवातिवक्रेण गुणदैर्घ्यं वितन्वता ।
मया शरासनेनेव बाणो दूरं निरस्यते ॥
Quoted, Kāvyamālā, part six, fn.1, p.21. 6.

2. मुक्तमेव न मया मयोचित: प्रेरितोऽस्मि तव तर्किनी त्वया ।
सिद्धनाथ कृततत्क्रमस्तुते: कालिदासरचितां च पंचिकाम् ॥ C.G.C.4.126.

3. इह कालिदासचन्द्रप्रसूतिरानन्दिनी स्तुतिव्यंजिता । Ibid.4.127.
चिद्गगनचन्द्रिकाख्यै: शमयतु संसारदावदवथुं व: ॥
कालिदासपदवीं तवाश्रितस्तत्प्रसादकृतवाग्विजृम्भण: । Ibid.4.93.
केवलं तदनुवर्णितेऽप्युमे त्वन्मुदे तदपि दासजल्पितम् । Ibid.4.93.

line of the opening verse of the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa.[1] These factors have led the editor of the Calcutta edition of the Cidgaganacandrikā to concede its authorship to Kālidāsa.[2] Karna Agnihotra Sastri, the erudite modern commentator on the text, fully endorses the views of Svami Trivikrama Tirtha, the editor of the Calcutta edition Besides, Sastri advances a few more arguments in favour of his contention.[3] As his entire methodology consists in finding analogues between the present and the original Kālidāsa and interpreting them to suit his convictions, it is not very relevant for us to go into whole of it here. However to cite an instance, he finds an implicit reaffirmation of the Abhijñāna-śākuntala's eightfold Purīs in the eightfold structure of the Vṛnda-cakra. Even to the last verse, where the name of some Śrīvatsa occurs, he accords an entirely mystic interpretation taking him as a 'crest of meaning' called Śrīvatsa. This is the verse which is of key importance in connection with the authorship-issue. The only difference between Sastri and Trivikrama Tirtha revolves round the identity of this Kālidāsa. The former insists the present Kālidāsa is identical with the original one,[4] while

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1. सन्मार्गा-लोकनाय व्यपनयतु स वस्तामसीवृत्तिमीशः । C.G.C.1.2.

2. ... सुस्पष्टं स्वीयमभिधानं प्रकटीकृतं कालिदास इति । अतएवास्य कर्ता कालिदास इत्यसंशयं वक्तुं शक्यम् ।
   Sanskrit Introduction, C.G.C., Calcutta, p.2.

3. C.G.C. with the Divyacakorikā, (first part of the Introduction), I, pp.2-4.

4. Ibid, p.4.

the latter is prepared to accede to the distinct individuality of the one who seems to have flourished before Abhinavagupta.[1]

The testimony of the tradition also lends weighty support to the present thesis. The passages from the Cidgaganacandrikā quoted by Bhāskararāya in his commentary famed as Saubhāgya-bhāskara on the Lalitā-sahasra-nāma have been acknowledged by him to be the assertions of Kālidāsa occasionally even mentioning the name of the text.[2] Similarly. Sastri has invoked the support of a Tantric text called Hṛdayacandrikā by Kavi Cakravartin which explicitly identifies the author of the Cidgaganacandrikā with Kālidāsa.[3] But it must be frankly stated that a host of scholars, who have profusely quoted from the text in question, have maintained complete silence over its authorship. Among these are Maheśvarānanda,[4] Amṛtānandanātha[5] and Kaivalyāśrama.[6]

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1. C.G.C.,Calcutta,p.3(Skt.Int.).
2. Saubhāgya Bhāskara on the Lalitā-Sahasranāma, pp.26,52,82,153, 157,161.
3. वाङ्मयामृतनिधिः प्रकाशते कालिदास इति कोऽपि चन्द्रमाः ।
   येन चिद्गगनचन्द्रिका कृता हृद्गुहासु सुधियां हृतं तमः ।

   Quoted, C.G.C. with D.C.,I,p.3 (Int.).
4. M.M.P.,pp.27,53, 71, 73, 93, 94, 96,99,102,103,104,110,124, 130,154,167.
5. Y.H.D.,pp.11, 18, 94, 132, 144, 179.
6. S.V. on A.L., p.4.

A modern student, however, finds it difficult to swallow the claim for the original Kālidāsa's authorship of the Cidgaganacandrikā. To be gin with. The author mentions some Śiva as a pioneer of the preceptorial line, Cakrabhānu as an eminent teacher, and Soma as the concluding figure of the lineage to which the author pledges his allegiance. The author received his tuitions in Krama from the son of Soma. It simply means that he is not the legendary Kālidāsa, but a different person. Cakrabhānu and Somarāja, and for that matter his son, more or less have a definite chronological status that puts them within a ~~century~~ century's bracket running from 1050 to 1150 A.D. as they come in preceptorial hierarchy. Even the earliest limit cannot go beyond the tenth century, because the author of the Krama Stotra, i.e., Siddhanātha, belongs to the first half of the tenth century. But since the author maintains direct doctrinal and scholastic affiliation to Cakrabhānu etc., his date need not be pushed back from the point of actual occurrence which falls in the vicinity of the bracket mentioned above. Besdies, the earliest references made to this work are by Maheśvarānanda who belongs to the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. Therefore his date cannot be advanced either, barring the modifications by a margin of 25 to 50 years on each side. Had he flourished much earlier, the early texts would not afford to ignore him altogether. Therefore, on every count, the present author is different from the great poet.

Coming to the other aspect of the question, let us try to find out who this Kālidāsa was.

The author of the Cidgaganacandrikā in the last verse gives out his name as Śrīvatsa in unmistakable[1] tone. Kālidāsa seems to be his honorific title and not his actual name, according to his own statement.[2] Owing to the grace of Mother Divine his unique literary and spiritual accomplishment fetched him this valued title. However, from the historical perspective personalities have always suffered a confusion due to this practice in India. In order to cater to his vanity it is natural for him to emphasise his title as compared with his name.

The present thesis with regard to the 'Candrikā's authorship becomes more convincing, if something with regard to the historicity of the author named Śrīvatsa is available. Fortunately, exactly during this period, one Śrīvatsa arrests one's attention. Maṅkha refers to a duad of the two celibates namely Bhuḍḍa and Śrīvatsa[3] in course of his description of

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1. पूर्णपीठकृतं सिद्धेस्तदभावस्तवमादरात् ।
   वा नरार्थं महागुह्यं श्रीवत्सो विदधे सतु ।। C.G.C.4.134.
2. कालिदासपदवीं तवाश्रितः त्वत्प्रसादकृतवाग्विजृम्भणः । Ibid.4.127.
3. यावाविष्कुरुतो वक्त्रमुरुचंदनपुण्ड्रकम् ।
   मुद्रितं सूक्तिदेव्येव कोषं काव्यकलाश्रियः ।।
   भुड्डश्रीवत्सनामानौ सूरी ब्रह्मचारिणौ ।
   वाक्यैर्जितामृतस्वादैः सादरं तावदभाषत ।। S.K.C.25.81-82.

the literary circle of his brother and heaps an exceedingly high praise on both of them for unparallelled poetic richness and beauty of their verses - as if the Goddess of Muse herself put a stamp on the wealth of their poetic art. Maṅkha, being a contemporary of king Jayasiṅha (1127-1151 A.D.) is ascribed to the second and third quarters of the twelfth century. Śrīvatsa, too, therefore, would belong to the same period. Since (i) this Śrīvatsa and the author of the 'Candrikā flourish on an almost synchroneous point of time, and (ii) Śrīvatsa, the author of the 'Candrikā, has the title of Kālidāsa[1] for his poetic brilliance and ingenuity like his illustrious counterpart hailed for his poetic achievements, it will not be entirely unfounded to treat the two as identical.

The necessary corollaries that follow in the wake of such a proposition are that the author of the 'candrikā was Śrīvatsa, identical with his namesake referred to by Maṅkha, who made this attempt for the welfare of mankind. He was known as Kālidāsa for his literary genius. The verse containing the line from the Mālavikāgnimitra is spurious and a later interpolation. He was a pupil of Soma's son who perhaps was known as Gupta.[1] He belonged to the

1. Cf. fn. 2 on the preceding page.

1. गुप्तभाषितजगद्विजृम्भणा मन्त्रता भजसि तत्त्वमम्ब सा । C.G.C.4.36.

व्यक्तिमत्तदितरक्रमप्रथा गुप्तकृत्तदातबहिर्जगत्क्रमः ।

निर्गतोऽथ महार्थजृम्भितः संभृतो जननि तेऽन्वयः क्रम ॥ Ibid.3.92.

Pūrṇapīṭha, the centre of his spiritual activity, where he wrote this Pañcikā on the Krama Stotra[1]. The whole work, according to the author, comprises three hundred and nine verses in traiṣṭubha metre[2]. However, there are in all three hundred and twelve verses in the printed edition and the first two verses are not in the above metre. Thus the total number of verses in traiṣṭubha metre amounts to three hundred and ten, and if the last verse pertaining to the author himself is excluded, the total corresponds to the figure mentioned by the author.

But it is doubtful that the original text has come down to us in full, because a few verses quoted by Kaivalyāśrama[3], Amṛtānandanātha[4] are not traceable to the printed text.

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1. पूर्णपीठमवगम्य मंगले त्वत्प्रसादमकृते मया कृतः । C.G.C.4.128.
2. कालवर्षाणि शतैस्त्रिभिः स्तुतिम् तावकीमिह नवोत्तरैः कृताम् ।।
   तैष्टुभैरहरहः परामृशन् कालचक्रमतियन् प्रसीदति ।। Ibid,4.130-131.

3. अम्ब तावकपदद्वयार्चकस्त्वमन्यो भवति नात्र विस्मयः ।
   यस्त्वयैव विवशो वशीकृतः शक्तिरेव सममूच्छिवः स्वयम् ।।

   S.V.on A.L., p.4.

4. भावनागममतीन्द्रियं च यल्लक्ष्यमुक्तम् ।

   Y.H.D.,p.179.

5-(XXXV). OJARĀJA (1125-1175 A.D.)

He was probably an authority on the Devīpañcaśatika a recognized āgama on the Krama system. With regard to the portion of the text dealing with the importance of the "final seed" (Antya Bīja), he differed from the usual interpretation owing to a variation in the reading of the text.[1] This is the only information available about him at present. Since this view was conveyed to Jayaratha by his teacher, Ojarāja might have been a predecessor or contemporary of his teacher. His date is quite uncertain. He may, tentatively, be placed during the period 1125-1175 A.D. due to his priority to Jayaratha's teacher. We are completely ignorant about other aspects of his personality.

5-(XXXVI). ŚIVĀNANDA II (1125-1175 A.D.): GRAND TEACHER OF MAHEŚVARĀNANDA

The contribution of the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda is so vivid, rich, versatile and profound that it is difficult to find a like of him in the post-Kṣemarāja period save, perhaps, Maheśvarānanda and Jayaratha. The only drawback

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1. अन्त्यस्य च अस्य बीजस्य ... इत्यादिना श्रीदेवीपंचशतिके माहात्म्यमुक्तम् । अत्र च श्रीमदोजराजस्य पाठव्यत्ययात् मतान्तरमिति तद्गुरव एव प्रमाणम् ।

T.A.V., XII, p.197.

that has obscured his exuberant personality is the non-availability of his works in print. In him one is able to trace a systematic development of the Post-Kṣemarāja form of the Krama system for which Maheśvarānanda fully leans on him. And it is really strange, when the Krama philosophy was moving towards its slow but gradual decay in Kashmir, Maheśvarānanda and his teachers kindled the fire in full blaze in Cola, the modern Karnataka, at the banks of Kaveri. One may, in other words, still say that their contribution was immense and so powerful that they succeeded in evolving a sort of Southern school of the Krama system - though it is not stated nor claimed anywhere. The thirteen-deity or not-twelve-deity doctrine, the extra emphasis on the five-fold functional dymanism of the absolute and the sixtyfive mystic aspects of the Vṛnda Cakra and induction of greater esotericism in the body metaphysic of the Krama system in common with other cognate tantric creeds are the chief features of this school.

Except once, Maheśvarānanda does not refer to his grand teacher, Śivānanda, by name.[1] That he is doing so, is

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1. तद्व्युदासेन बहुभिः श्रीशिवानन्दमहाप्रकाशमहेश्वरानन्द प्रभृतियोगीन्द्रैः संभूयवादेनोपभुज्यमानत्वात् ।

M.M.P.,p.134.

itself established on going through the collateral evidence. He, however, ascribes the following works to his grand-teacher :-

(i) Ṛjuvimarśinī[1]
(ii) Krama-Vāsanā[2]
(iii) Subhagodaya[3]
(iv) Saubhāgya Hṛdaya,[4]
(v) Saṁvit Stotra[5]
(vi) Tripurasundarimandira Stotra[6]

Of these the first and third works, namely the Ṛjuvimarśinī and the Subhagodaya, are extant even today. Their manuscripts in Malayalam characters are available in the Curator's Office Library, Trivendrum.[7] The Subhagodaya[8] is a Tripurā work and Śivānanda Yogi is the author of the text

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1. M.M.P., pp.112, 123, 129, 178, 193.

2. Ibid, pp. 115, 117.

3. Ibid, p. 132.

4. Ibid, pp. 13, 73.

5. Ibid, pp. 71, 129.

6. Ibid, p.195.

7. ~~It is learnt from 'Anuprastavikam' of the Y.H.D. that~~ A press copy of Ṛjuvimarśinī is under preparation and is shortly to be brought out under Sarasvati Bhavana Granthamala by the Research Institute, Sanskrit University, Varanasi.

8. MS.No.878 B, C.O.L.No.960 B, vide DCSMCOL, Trivendrum, V, p.1916-1917.

according to the concluding verses.[1] The Ṛjuvimarśinī[2] purports to be a commentary on the Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava Tantra on the lines of the Lopāmudrā sect of the Tripurā system.[3] Its author is Śivānanda and his teacher is Svatmānanda[4]. The second work, i.e., Krama-Vāsanā also passes in the name of the Subhagodaya-vāsanā. Its manuscripts are preserved in the libraries of the Madras Government and the Kerala University.[5] The fourth work, e.g., Saubhāgya-hṛdaya-stotra is available in manuscript in the library of BORI, Poona.[6] Both of these works have been taken note of by Maheśvarānanda, the Yoginī-hṛdaya-dīpikā[7] and the Kāma-kalā-vilāsa-cidvallī.[8]

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1. शिवानन्दमहायोगी सुभगोदयमब्रवीत् ।

MS.No.878B,C.O.L.No.960 B.

2. MS.No.878D, C.O.L.No.690 D., ibid,p.1920.

3. व्याकरोमि मनाक् श्रीमन्नित्याषोडशिकार्णवम् । Ibid,p.1921.

4. लोपामुद्राक्रमायातसम्प्रदायादयं पुन:।
   क्रोदागमास्यास्य व्याख्यामृजुविमर्शिनीम् ।। Ibid.

5. इति श्रीमहामहेश्वराचार्यस्वात्मानन्दनाथशिष्याचार्यशिवानन्दनाथविरचित-
   नित्याषोडशिकार्णवसूत्रविचारिणी ऋजुविमर्शिनी सम्पूर्णा ।

~~S.Su., XX-2~~, Ibid,p.1923.

6-7. cf. त्रिपुरादर्शनास्याचापरिचिता आचार्याः कतयश्च ,

S.Su ,XX-2,p.25.

8. Y.H.D., p.68.

According to Dwivedi, the Śāmbhavaikya-dīpikā too is a work by Śivānanda and its an incomplete manuscript is present in the Madras Government Library.[1] Maheśvarānanda refers twice to this work but is silent about is authorship.[2]

Before one could advert to the question of his time one is called upon to answer an important question. The precise problem is whether Śivānanda can be credited with the authorship of the Mahānaya Prakāśa (T) as well. As will be realised later, a correct answer will necessarily reduce complexity of the riddle.

The authorship of the Mahānayaprakāśa is clouded in mystery, as nowhere in the body of the text itself one finds any reference whatsoever to its author. But the author makes it absolutely clear that he has written some more works[3] as the secrets of the Krama discipline cannot, for fear of corruption and slackness, be put together at one place and only those who are well conversant with the antecedents and consequents of the Mahānayaprakāśa can appreciate its teaching fully.[4] It is against this background that he refers to the

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1. Fns. 6-7 on preceding page.
2. M.M.P., pp.18, 167.
3. तत् प्रपंचितमन्यत्र यदतः साम्प्रतं मनाक् । M.P.(T).1.34.
4. परं रहस्यं कथितुं किंचित् किंचित् क्वचित् क्वचित् ।
सर्वं सभ्यभीरुत्वान्नैकत्रैव प्रकाश्यते ॥
महानयप्रकाशेऽस्मिन् ये पूर्वापरवेदिनः ।
हस्तामलकवत् तेषां वस्तुतत्त्वं प्रकाशते ॥
Ibid.6.23-24.

Saṁvitstotra for certain doctrines.[1] And in the end of the printed text he attributes the authorship of the Stotrabhaṭṭāraka too to himself.[2] But it is noted that one of these texts, i.e., Saṁvit-stotra has been attributed to his grand teacher by Maheśvarānanda. The other work, ie., the Stotrabhaṭṭāraka[3], as w-ell as the Mahānayaprakāśa[4] ~~fxx~~ have been frequently quoted by Maheśvarānanda. Many of the passages ascribed to the Mahānayaprakāśa are traceable to the printed text:.[5] But quite a few of them could not be located in the ~~printed~~ same.[6] This simply goes to prove that the present text as printed is incomplete. It is, no doubt bewildering that Maheśvarānanda, who is so scrupulous in refering to his teacher or grandteacher where there is an occasion, should maintain reticence over the author~~s~~hip of these important texts. In the first instance it appears that

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1. स्तोत्रकारस्येदमेव स्थितं चेतसि यज्जगौ ।
संवित्स्तोत्रैः समालोकप्रमाणार्थप्रमाद(दः?)तः ॥
M.P.(T) 6.27.

2. एतदर्थानुसारेण स्तोत्रभट्टारके मया ।
स्फुटं ये विवृताः श्लोकास्तव ... ॥ Ibid.9.69.

3. M.M.P.,pp.104-5, 116, 127, 131.

4. Ibid,pp.85, 87, 88, 94, 95, 96, 97,101,104, 120, 179, 182.

5. M.P.(T). 1.4, 32; 7.127-128, 175; 9.4-5, 50-51, 67-68.

6. M.M.P.,pp. 85, 87-88, 94-66, 99, 101-2, 104.

~~thatxthere~~ these works have a different author. But on the second look one may probably have to revise one's opinion. The reasons for this may be stated thus.

(i) The author of the Mahānaya Prakāśa and the Stotra Bhaṭṭāraka is the same, because the former uses the word "Mayā" (by me) with reference to the latter.

(ii) Although the reference to the Saṁvit-stotra is not accompanied by the word 'Mayā' or the like, it comes from the same pen -contextual evidence lends enough support to it.

(iii) The Saṁvit Stotra has been ascribed to his grand teacher by Maheśvarānanda. Hence, by implication, these two works should also be credited to the same authorship.

(iv) Maheśvarānanda's reticence with regard to the two works is suggestive, yet it is not necessarily a negative gesture. Because in the case of the Śāmbha-vaikya-dipikā it was pointed out that it is also a work of Śivānanda, the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda, in spite of the fact that he keeps mum about its authorship, too.

(v) The work named Stotrabhaṭṭāraka cannot be dismissed as spurious[1] since (a) it has been quoted by

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1. Abhi., pp. 478-479.

Maheśvarānanda as well as Jayaratha[1] besides Śivānanda, and (b) also because there is complete correspondence between the *Mahānayaprakāśa* and the *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka* on the issues, e.g., the thirteen kālīs, unity of Prakāśa and Ānanda, Mantra as Supreme awareness, etc.[2]

(vi) Śivānanda in his *Ṛjuvimarśinī* has elevated Prākṛta as the official language of the Tripurā school. This view was endorsed and its application extended to the Krama system by Maheśvarānanda.[3] There is an unmistakable evidence to suggest that the *Mahānayaprakāśa* was written originally in vernacular (Bhāṣayā i.e., Prākṛta).[4] This coincidence lends a further support to the alleged identity of the authors of the *Ṛjuvimarśinī* with that of the *Mahānayaprakāśa.*

(vii) Even if, for a second, this authorship-equation is not granted there is absolutely no doubt that both- the author of the *Saṁvit stotra,* as well as that of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* - occupy the same point on

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1. T.A.V., III, p.223.
2. M.M.P., pp.105,116, 127.
3. Ibid, p.194.
4. गीतं पुराणाधिष्ठानं भाषया तदुत्तमम् । M.P.(T).1.12.

chronological scale because the author of the latter refers to the former and the grandson of the former refers to the latter. In fact this historical coincidence in point of time is additional evidence in favour of the above contention establishing identity of the two.

In this connection one may agree with Dr. Pandey[1] in rejecting the ascription of the <u>Mahānayaprakāśa</u> to Abhinavagupta by Mr. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī.[2] The contention is utterly untenable in the face of the <u>Mahānayaprakāśa</u> clearly betraying the influence of Kṣemarāja.[3]

Let us now revert to the period of Śivānanda. The latest author referred to by Śivānanda is Kṣemarāja in the <u>Ṛjuvimarśinī</u>.[4] The books referred to are the <u>Sāmbapañcāśikā</u> and <u>Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya Sūtra</u>. The precise implication being that Kṣemarāja marks Śivānanda's upper time-limit. Amṛtānanda, the author of the <u>Dīpikā</u> on the <u>Yoginī Hṛdaya</u> and a pupil of Puṇyānanda, refers to the <u>Subhagodayavāsanā</u> (i.e., <u>Krama-vāsanā</u>) of Śivānanda.[5]

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1. Abhi., p.477.

2. M.P.(T),Int.,p.2 (Skt.Int).

3. अत्रोच्यते यदुक्तं तु विश्वोत्तीर्णचितिः कथम् ।
सैवेत्यते समाविश्य विश्वानुभवभूमिकाम् ॥

M.P.(T).3.17.

4. साम्बमिश्रपंचाशिकाविवृतिरचने श्रीदोमराजाचार्यकृते दृष्टव्यम् ।

Ṛjuvimarśinī, Press copy, p.67, Courtesy Braj Vallabha Dvivedi, editor.

5. Y.H.D.,p.68.

Although Amṛtānanda's time has not been finally settled, the general opinion among the scholars is to place him somewhere in the twelfth century.[1] This may form the lower limit of Śivānanda's emergence. It is extremely significant to note that Jayaratha refers to two works of Śivānanda, namely, the Stotrabhaṭṭāraka and Mahānayaprakāśa. The first is mentioned with explicit reference to the title of the text.[2] A passage is cited from the other without disclosing the source, but the same is found in the Mahānayaprakāśa.[3] It is quoted as a prima facie view propounding the thesis of the thirteen Kālīs against that of Jayaratha's twelve-kālī-theory.[4] Jayaratha's time is almost certain. His father Śṛṅgāraratha

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1. Y.H.D., p.n. (Skt.Int.).
2. अतएव श्रीस्तोत्रभट्टारकेऽपि
   कालानलाद्व्योमकलावसानं चिन्त्यं जगद्ग्रासकलालयेन।
   चक्रं महासंहृतिरूपमग्र्यं गते चिदाकाशपदस्थमित्थम् ॥ इत्यादिना
   संहारक्रमेणैव अस्योदयः उक्तः । T.A.V.,III,p.223.
3. M.P.(T).9.15-18.
4. ननु अस्याः परस्याः संविदोऽन्यैरनयैव भङ्ग्या त्रयोदशात्मकत्वमुक्तम्,
   यदुक्तम् - एकं स्वरूपं हि मानमेयप्रमातृतः ।
   सर्गावतारसंहारमयीराक्रम्य वर्तते ॥
   स्वस्वरूपानुगुण्येन प्रत्येकं कलनावशात् ।
   सृष्टिस्थित्यादिभिर्भेदैश्चतुर्धा ता अपि स्थिताः ॥
   कालग्रासान्तमुदयाच्चतुर्धा विभवो हि यः।
   तस्य विश्रान्तिरेकैव ततो देव्यस्त्रयोदश ॥
   तस्य विश्रान्तिरेकैव ततो देव्यस्त्रयोदश ॥
   अनाख्यचक्रे प्राधान्यात् पूजनीयतया स्थिताः । इति । इह च द्वादशात्म-
   कत्वमुच्यते इति किमेतत् । Ibid, pp.128-29.

was a court-minister of king Rājarāja who is identified with the king Jayasiṁha (1127-1151 A.D.). Hence he, in any case, must be active during the second half of the twelfth century (1150-1200 A.D.). Thus Śivānanda cannot be dragged below this period, i.e., 1150-1200 A.D. Kṣemarāja, who constitutes upper limit, is assigned to about 975-1025 A.D.. The gap can be reduced further. Maheśvarānanda refers to the x <u>Cidgagana-candrikā</u> of which the probable time is almost settled. It is put around 1125-1175 A.D.. Maheśvarānanda is the grand pupil of Śivānanda. It is, therefore, necessary that whatever probable period of Śivānanda's existence one may arrive at, it must account for both of them. Śivānanda is removed from Maheśvarānanda only by a generation. Since the latter refers to the <u>Cidgagana-candrikā</u>, his upper limit must be determined by this fact, that is, Maheśvarānanda cannot belong to an earlier period than 1125-1175 A.D.. On the other hand Śivānanda, by virtue of his being alluded to by Jayaratha, is not supposed to cross the period 1150-1200 A.D. In other words the upper limit of Śivānanda does not extend beyond 1075-1125 A.D. (as it is 1125-1175 A.D. for Maheśvarānanda). The lower limit of Śivānanda is almost decided, as noted above. Hence Śivānanda must flourish somewhere between 1075-1125 A.D. to 1150-1200 A.D. . In order that Jayaratha might be able to refer to him he must be placed, at least, by a generation above Jayaratha, i.e., 1125-1175 A.D. He may, therefore, be assigned to the second and third quarter of the twelfth

century. This also satisfactorily accounts for both of them- the grandteacher and his grand-pupil, as will be clear from the following table :-

Śivānanda (1125-1175 A.D.)

Mahāprakāśa (1150-1200 A.D.)

Maheśvarānanda (1175-1225 A.D.).

In this case Maheśvarānanda does not transcend 1125-1175 A.D. on the upper side and Śivānanda does not descend below 1150-1175 A.D. on the lower side.

Now his system-wise contribution may be detailed in the form of the following table.

Tripurā system	Indefinite	Krama system
1. Ṛjuvimarśinī	1. Śāmbhvaikya-dīpikā.	1. Mahānaya-prakāśa
2. Kramavāsanā (or Subhagodayavāsanā)		2. Stotra Bhaṭṭāraka
3. Subhagodaya		3. Saṁvit-stotra
4. Saubhāgya-hṛdayastotra		
5. Tripurā-sundarīmandira-stotra.		

For reasons of space we are constrained to leave out the detailed discussion on each work.

5-(XXXVII). MAHĀPRAKĀŚA (1150-1200 A.D.)

Mahāprakāśa is the esteemed teacher of

Maheśvarānanda[1] and himself a disciple of Śivānanda. His time, therefore, ceases to be a problem and he is assigned to the latter half of the twelfth century.

Maheśvarānanda has paid glowing tributes to his wide erudition, profound scholarship and spiritual achievements[2]. It was upon his interpretation of the dream and inspiration that Maheśvarānanda took to writing of the Mahārtha-mañjarī.[3]

He had traditional insight into the Mahārtha system which came direct to him through his teacher and which he passed on to his illustrious pupil.[4] He is described as an author of the tantric treatises (Tantrakṛt), though none of his works is physically extant. All his works are accessible only in the form of extracts therefrom in the Parimala. He was a prolific author of the Stotras three of which have been brought to our notice by Parimala. His Mātaṅgīstotra probably dealt with the concept of Śuddha-vidyā.[5] His another

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1. नत्वा नित्यशुद्धौ गुरोश्चरणौ महाप्रकाशस्य ।
ग्रथ्नाति महार्थमंजरीमिमां सुरभिं महेश्वरानंदः ।। M.M.1.

2. तत्त्व तत्त्वविदं लोके वेदशास्त्रकलास्वपि ।
महार्थसिन्धुमन्यानं श्रावयामासदेशिकम् ।। M.M.P.,p.199.

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid,p.197.

5. यदुक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिः श्रीमातङ्गीस्तोत्रे -
स्तनौ घनौ पूर्णसुधौ सुकान्ती तवेशि । नन्दामि परस्परभौ ।
स्थितौ समानाधिष्ठितौ सुविधे समौ तवैवाहमिदम्प्रकाशौ । Ibid,p.44.

stotra was the Ānandatāṇḍavavilāsa stotra pertaining to the Absolutic freedom as the cosmic principle of causation.[1] The third stotra, i.e., Manonuśāsana-stotra dealt with the principle of mind as a unique sense-instrument.[2] His greatest contribution, however, was Maheśvarānanda himself.

5-(XXXVIII). JAYARATHA (1150-1200 A.D.)

The name of Jayaratha is a milestone in the history of the Krama thought. His commentary on the first, fourth, thirteenth and twenty-ninth Āhnikas of the Tantrāloka is not only a monument of the Krama culture and philosophical discipline but also a repository of the innumerable historical allusions without which the Krama history would have suffered in accuracy, precision and vastness. The last verse of his Viveka on the Tantrāloka proclaims him to be a thinker of outstanding merit in Krama in addition to all the then important branches of learning[3]. And it is not a boastful

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1. यच्चोक्तमस्मत्गुरुभिरानन्दताण्डवविलासस्तोत्रे -
   वयं त्विमां विश्वतयावभानं वहिर्मुखस्यास्य तवोन्मुखस्य।
   स्व संहितं विश्वविलापनोद्यत्स्वतन्त्रतानन्दमयीं नमाम: ।।
   M.M.P., p.166.

2. तदुक्तमस्मत्गुरुभिर्मनोनुशासनस्तोत्रे -
   हंसा: पतन्ति गगने प्रविसार्यपक्षौ स्वौ सदैव किल मानसराजहंस अत्यद्भुता
   तव गतिर्गगने परिस्मन् विद्योपशून्यमयपक्षयुगं विहाय।। Ibid, p.12; also see pp.46, 94.

3. पदे वाक्ये माने निखिलशिवशास्त्रोपनिषदि-
   प्रतिष्ठां यातोऽहं यदपि निरवद्यं जयरथ: ।
   तथाप्यस्यामग्र क्वचन भुविनास्ति त्रिकदृशि
   क्रमार्थे वा मत्त: सपदि कुशल: कश्चिदपर: ।। T.A.V., VII, pp.434-35.

or conceited statement, since it is well known that his contribution covers a vast field ranging from all the schools under Kashmir Śaivism to Tripurā and literature. In Krama, he is proud of the fact that he directly came in the preceptorial lineage of Bhānuka, a student of Keyūravatī.[1] He was, equally, conversant with the other tradition headed by Govindrāja.[1] And, in addition, his familiarity with the southern scholars[3] goes to evince the vast realm of Krama practically covered by him. Jayaratha probably understood the value of viewing a scholar, for fuller appreciation, against his historical background. He therefore provides us with a sufficiently detailed account of his ancestral as well as preceptorial lineage which may, for the sake of convenience, be tabulated in the following manner[4] :-

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1. तस्यैव (भानुकस्य) चैषा श्रीमदुज्जटोद्भट्टादिनानागुरुपरिपाटीसंततिः
यत्प्रसादासादितमहिमभिरस्माभिरेतत् प्रदर्शितम् ।

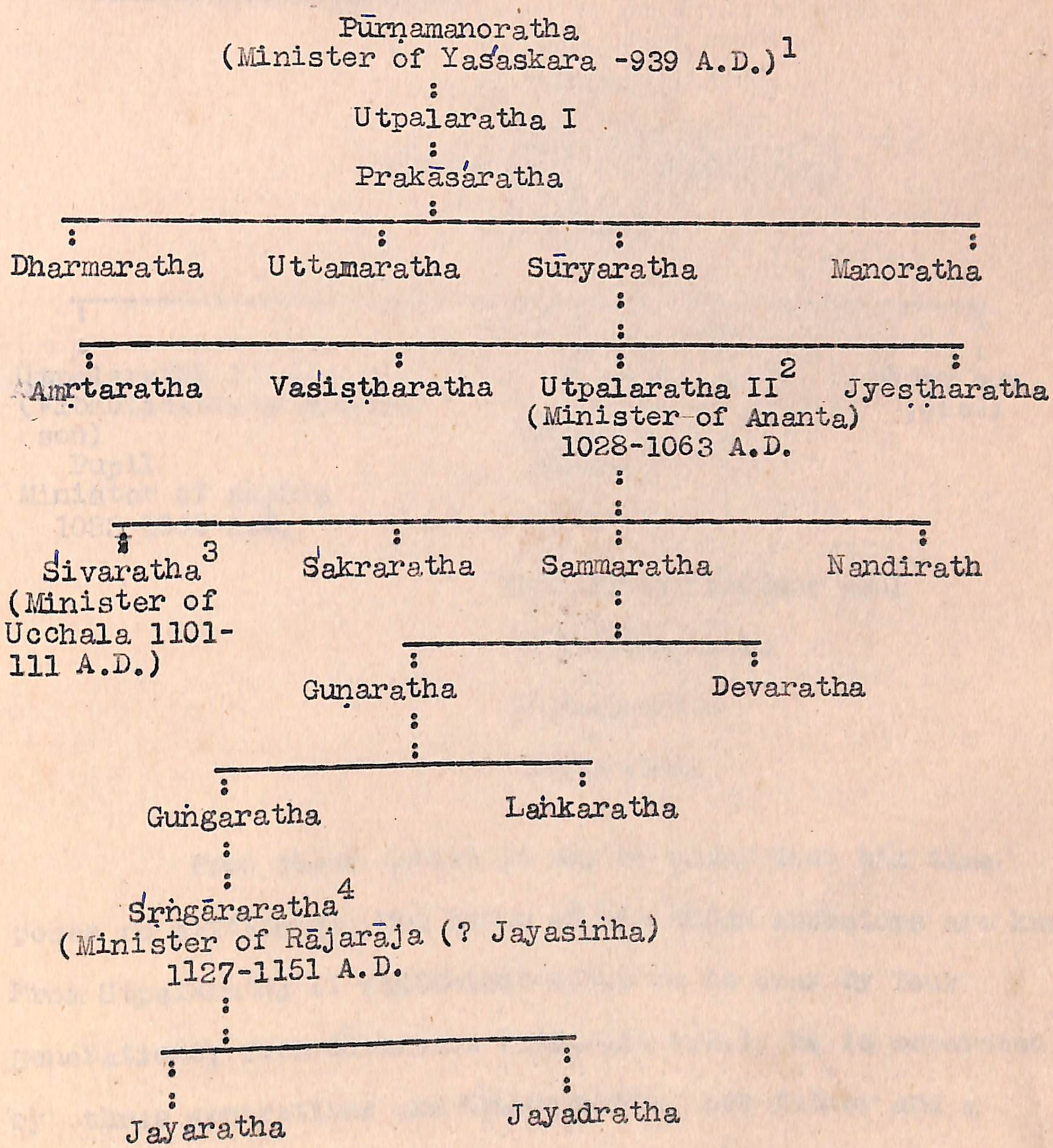
T.A.V., III, pp. 192-193.

2. यदधिकारेण श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामुपदेशः प्रवृत्तो यो स्मत्पर्यन्तमपि
प्राप्तः । Ibid, p. 198.

3. Ibid, pp. 128, ~~223~~ [Mahānayaprakāśa(T)] and 223 (Stotra-bhaṭṭāraka).

4. Ibid, XII, pp. 430-433.

I. PARENTAL GENEOLOGY



1. T.A.V., XII, p.430, verse 8.
2. Ibid, verse 13.
3. शिवरथाख्युत्सवे श्लोकममुं शिवरथाभिधः । विद्वान् पठंस्तेन ह्यात्सवर्धयदारो व्यधीयत ।।
   Rāj.T.VIII.V.,911.
4. T.A.V.,xii,p.432, verse 28; Alaṁkāra-Sarvasva-vimarśinī, p.257.

II. PRECEPTORIAL GENEOLOGY[1]

Lakṣmīdatta
:
Kamala Datta
(Son-in-law of Lakṣmīdatta)
:
Vibhūtidatta
:

Utpalaratha II
(Vibhūtidatta's sister's son)
Pupil
Minister of Ananta
1023-1063 A.D.

Śrīcakra ...
(pupil)
:
Viśvadatta (Younger son)
:
Tribhuvanadatta
:
Subhaṭadatta
:
Jayaratha.

Elder son
(died)

From these tables it may be clear that his time poses no difficulty. The dates of his three ancestors are known. From Utpalaratha II (1028-1063 A.D.) he is away by four generations, from Śivaratha (1101-111 A.D.), he is separated by three generations and Śṛṅgāraratha, his father and a minister of Rājarāja, who is generally identified with king Jayasiṅha (1127-1151 A.D.), is succeeded by him immediately. On the preceptorial plane, he is removed by three generations from Viśvadatta, his great-grand teacher and a younger

1. T.A.V., xii, pp. 430-31, 433-34.

contemporary of Utpalaratha II (1028-1063 A.D.), who brought the former up after the death of his father. After giving due allowance for the intervening generations, he may be safely assigned to the second half of the twelfth century (i.e., 1150-1200 A.D.). This is further confirmed by the fact that he in his *Vimarśinī* refers to the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*[1] of Jayānaka. According to the general consensus of historians Pṛthvīrāja died in the year 1193 A.D. and before his death the work had been written. This is vindicated still further by the fact that Jayaratha wrote his *Vimarśinī* on the *Alaṁkāra Sarvasva* of Ruyyaka who was s senior contemporary of Maṅkha (1125-1175 A.D.).[2] Hence Jayaratha's date may either coincide with Maṅkha's or be little later. Since Jayaratha's father is a minister of king Jayasiṁha (1127-1151 A.D.), he must succeed his father. Moreover, Jayaratha owes the inspiration for writing his *Viveka* to the same king,[3] his date must be in the vicinity of the time of Jayasiṁha's reign. In view of all these factors, he must be placed during the latter half of the twelfth century.

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1. यथा पृथ्वीराजविजये - गृह्णद्भिः परया भक्त्या बाणलिंगपरम्पराः ।
अनर्मदेव यत्सैन्यैर्निरमीयत नर्मदा ॥

Alaṁkāra-Sarvasva-vimarśinī, p.82.

2. तं श्रीरुय्यकमालोक्य स प्रियं गुरुमग्रहीत् ।
सौहार्दप्रश्रयरसस्रोतःसंभेदमज्जनम् ॥ S.K.C.25.30.

3. इह मम गतस्तन्त्रालोके विवेचयतो यतो
निरवधिमभिप्रेतोत्साहः स एवं निमित्तताम् ॥

T.A.V, xii, p.432, v.30.

Thus he was gifted both ways - parentally as well as preceptorially. Even his younger brother, Jayadratha is famous for his epic poem called Haracarita-cintāmaṇi and his stotra called Paridevitadvādaśikā, still unpublished,[1] but available in manuscript in the library of Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow. There is no ground for the identity of the two as held in some quarters because Jayaratha makes it clear that he was the elder.[2]

He was son of Śṛṅgāraratha, who carried out renovations of five buildings at the Mahādeva hill.[3] His initiation was performed by Subhaṭadatta,[4] whose Vivaraṇa on the Tantrāloka proved a model for his Viveka.[5] In statecraft he owed his proficiency to his father's teacher Śṛṅgāra, son of Dāśirājānaka[6]. He received lessons in Śaivism and other agamic

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1. Classification No.175 (Bhakti).

2. ज्येष्ठोऽरनयोरकार्षीत् तन्त्रालोके विवेकमिम् T.A.V., xii, p. 434, v.41.

3. Ibid, p.433, verse 37.

4. श्रीसुभटदत्त आसीदस्य गुरुर्यो ममाप्यकृत दीक्षाम् ॥ Ibid, verse 35.

5. व्यधुस्तन्त्रालोके किल सुभटपादा विवरणम्
यदर्थं यश्चैभ्यो निखिलशिवशास्त्रार्थविदभूत् ॥ Ibid, verse 39.

6. अप्यस्य राजतंत्रे चिन्तयतो राजतन्त्रमास्तगुरुः ।
दाशीराजानकजन्मा श्रीशृंगारो ममापि परमगुरुः ॥ Ibid. verse 36.

systems from Kalyāṇa. His other teacher Śaṅkhadhara or Saṅgadhara imparted education in all other sciences including Grammar and Mīmāṁsā.[1]

Coming to his works one finds that his creative genius almost covered all the fields and in this he is superceded only by his master Abhinavagupta. The Viveka on the Tantrāloka is a monument of his learning, but for which Abhinava would have been a mystery to us. On the Tripura system he gave us "Vivarana" which was a commentary on the Vāmakeśvarīmata. On the rise and development of the Tripurā system in Kashmir no better source can be pointed out.

In the field of poetics he wrote Vimarśinī on the Alaṁkārasarvasva of Ruyyaka and presented a model of constructive literary criticism to the later commentaries. Among his thoroughly original works he is credited with writing a work called Alaṁkārodāharana that served as a preliminary to the studies in poetics by his grandson Saṅgaka. In the last verse of this work, he refers to his Vimarśinī.[2] There is a manuscript

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1. श्रीशृंगाररथादवाप्य कृतिनो जन्मानवद्यक्रमं
श्रीमच्छङ्खधरात्परं परिचयं विद्यासु सर्वास्वपि ।
श्रीकल्याणतनोः शिवादधिगमं सर्वागमानामपि
व्याख्यातं प्रथमाह्निकं जयरथेनाज्ञावधेयं बुधैः ।

T.A.V.I,p.310

Also see T.A.V.,xii,p.433, verse 39-41.

2. प्रतिज्ञामात्रमेवैतद् इत्युपेक्ष्यं विचक्षणैः। अलंकारविमर्शिन्यां युक्तिव्यक्तरचात्र यत् ।।
संगकमुद्दिश्य निजं सत्यपि बाल्ये श्रुतार्थिनं पौत्रम्। अलिखन्निखिलालंकृतिसिद्धान्तं
जयरथः स्फुटार्थपदम् ।।

Alaṁkārodāharaṇam, end. (MS).

of it in the BORI Library, Poona.[1] Besides these, he composed a *Stotra* also,[2] three verses from which are quoted by Śivopādhyāya in his commentary on the *Vijñāna-bhairava*[4]. Śivopādhyāya also cites his opinion on the natural japa[4]. Jayaratha quotes from himself without specifying the source of his own statement in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata-vivaraṇa*.[5] On comparing the nature and versicular style of the two passages, the likelihood of his having written another work or works on the Tripurā or other systems becomes stronger.

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1. MS.No.240 of 1875-76 of Government Collection.
2. जयरथोऽपि एतद्रहस्यनयनिष्ठितानां तीर्थादिकमपि अनुपयुक्तमेवाह
   यदुक्तं स्तोत्रे ।

   V.Bh.V., p.125.
3. बहुलमहसि बोधे प्रोच्छलत्येकरूपे जननमरणभाषां कातराः कल्पयित्वा ।
   अविदितपरमार्थास्तीर्थदेवालयादिश्रयणमुपदिशन्तो हन्त नापत्रपन्ते ॥

   oo oo oo

   नयकलनया यस्योद्भूते विवेकपरामृते
   तृणमिव न सा जीवन्मुक्तिर्गता गणनीयताम् ।
   प्रमयसमये प्रत्यासन्ने स्वसंविदि संस्फुरन्
   अभिलषति नैवान्येष्ट्याद्याः क्रियाः पशुकल्पिताः ॥

   oo oo oo

   प्राग्जन्मकोटिसमुपार्जितदुष्कृतौघखेदावहं कमपि पिण्डमवैति जन्तुः ।
   ऊर्ध्वोर्ध्वशासनरतोऽपि गुरुर्भृताय तस्मै समर्पयति पिण्डमिति प्रमादः ॥

   Ibid, pp.125-126.
4. Ibid, p.138.
5. V.M.V., p.58.

5-(XXXIX). MAHEŚVARĀNANDA (1175-1225 A.D.)

Maheśvarānanda is one of the most prolific authors on the Krama system. His solitary extant work, the Mahāratha-mañjarī with the Parimala on it, gives a clear idea of his deep insight into and enormous contribution to the Krama system. Like Jayaratha, he also claims a complete command over not only the Pratyabhijñā Kārikās and Śivadṛṣṭi, but also on the manifold secrets of the Krama philosophy.[1] He moved with equal felicity in the Kula system.[2] The very pattern on which the Mahārthamañjarī moves, conforms to his synthetic approach to the Krama system by placing it in the overall perspective of the Kashmir Śaivism. This attempt of his reflects the impact of the Tantrāloka which marks an essay in synthesis and not in isolated analysis of the Trika systems.

His original name was Gorakṣa, but on his baptism he was named Maheśvarānanda by his teacher.[3] He is apparently

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1. अवगतशिवदृष्टिप्रत्यभिज्ञार्थतत्त्वक्रमसरणिरहस्योल्लाससर्वस्ववेदी ।
गुरुचरणसपर्याचातुरीचिद्घनोऽहं गहनमपि हृदन्तर्व्योम्नि तद् व्याकरोमि ॥
M.M.P.,p.2.

2. इह महति रहस्योन्मूलने मंगलाय प्रभवति मम संविद्योगिनीनां प्रसादः ।
अपितु कुलसपर्याबिम्बसंबंधवन्ध्याः सकृदपि मतिमन्तो नैनमुद्घाटयन्तु ॥
Ibid.

3. गोरक्षो लोकधिया देशिकदृष्ट्या महेश्वरानन्दः । Ibid.p.l.

different from his various namesakes in tantric philosophy.[1] The traditional Krama philosophy was inherited by him and he came direct in the line of the Krama teachers[2]. He hailed from Cola, modern Karnatak, on the banks of Kaveri (southern Mysore). He was the son of Madhu (Mādhava) and a devout pupil of Mahāprakāśa.[3] He became a consummate scholar in poetics after acquiring an insight into the Kāvyāloka of Ānandavardhana and the Locana by Abhinava.[4] Then he made his way into the Pratyabhijñā system. As a yogin he conducted successful experiments in spiritualism and consequently was a self-realized person.[5] Like Jayaratha, he has secured an enviable position, since he ensures a monolith of information for the historical reconstruction of the Kashmir Śaivism in general and the Krama system in particular. As mentioned by him he travelled far and wide in almost every direction before he took to writing the Mahārthamañjarī.[6]

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1. Abhi., p.274.
2. M.M.P. pp.98, 99, 134, 197.
3. चोलास्ते सततोत्सवा जनपदाः श्लाघ्यो गुणैर्माधवो
   रेतोधाः स्फटिकावदातहृदयो नाथः प्रकाशो महान् । Ibid,p.202.
4. साहित्याब्धौ कर्णधारोऽस्मासं काव्यालोकं लोचनं चानुशील्य ।
   तद्वत् स्वच्छं लब्धवानस्मि बोधं पान्थो भूत्वा प्रत्यभिज्ञापदव्याम् ।। Ibid.
5. समयानुप्रवेशमंगलमहाभिषेकसम्पत्संस्कारोपारोहप्रदालितमलोपलेपत्वात्,
   श्रीचराम्नायाद्यशेषशास्त्रार्थविबोधशिदाशालित्वात् ।
   Ibid,p.6.
6. अर्चयन् देवतां नित्यं जपन् ध्यायंश्च निश्चलम् ।
   पर्यटंश्च दिशामन्तान् काले कंचिदवाह्यत् ।।
   Ibid,p.197.

He belongs to the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century (1175-1225 A.D.). One needs not go into the reasons for it, since they have already been dwelt upon at length while discussing the period of his grand teacher Śivānanda.

Whatever contribution he has made to the Krama system or other fields is known today from references only made by himself in the Parimala commentary. So far we know of eleven works from his pen -

Name of work	Number of the reference-page in M.M.P.
1. Mahārtha-mañjari	(Extant.)
2. Parimala	(Extant)
3. Pādukodaya	11-12, 90, 99, 100, 103, 105, 112, 118, 149, 177.
4. Saṁvidullāsa	12, 23, 29, 32, 33, 78-9, 104, 111, 127, 137, 151, 152, 158-59, 172.
5. Mahārthodaya	108, 132.
6. Sūkta	59.
7. Parāstotra	77-78, 94, 107, 140, 148.
8. Komalavallīstava	53, 73, 75, 79, 89, 116, 123.
9. Mukundakeli)	73.
10. Kundalābharana)	
11. Nakhapratāpa)	

Perhaps, he has written certain other works in addition to the above. In the penultimate verse of the Parimala

he has spoken of one 'Krama' as his work.[1] We are not aware if the verse may be interpreted otherwise. For, the use of plural number in the word "Krama" coming at the end of Samahāra Dvandva compound should bear out the present observation. Even otherwise he cites a passage without indicating its source and ascribing it to himself.[2] The verse in question discusses the technical Krama concept of 'Gati'. It is again doubtful if the said verse is from the book suggested above. If this contention holds good, the number of his works goes upto twelve.

It appears that the Parimala on the Mahārtha-manjari is his last work, because it is here that the cognizance of these works is taken. It is, however, certain that Mahārtha-manjari was taken up immediately after his Pādukodaya.[3] On his own admission[4] we know that at least his five works,

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1. पादुकोदयमहार्थमंजरीकोमलास्तवपरास्तुतिक्रमैः ।
   स्फारयन् भुवि महार्थसंविदं देशिको विजयते महेश्वरः ।
   M.M.P.,p.203.

2. सृष्ट्यादिषु कृत्येषु इच्छाज्ञानक्रियात्मकशक्तित्रयांगीकाराेगतिरिति ।
   तदुक्तं मयैव - नैश्चिन्त्योत्कटमुच्चलन्नभिलषान् सर्वोत्तरं वर्तितुं
   स्वस्मिन् भेदमभेदितेऽपि विमृशन् स्वात्माविशेषं स्फुरन् ।
   अर्थानामुदयव्ययप्रकृतिभूरुच्चायवानिच्छया
   देवो दृक्क्रिययोः प्रदीप्तमहिमा भावेषु वो दीव्यतु। Ibid,p.180.

3. सद्यस्त्वद्वदनात् तस्मात्पादुकोदयशोधितात् ।
   पुरातनागमप्रख्यो ग्रन्थः प्रख्यायतां महान् ।।
   Ibid,p.199.

4. Fn. 1 above.

namely, Mahārthamañjarī (and for the reason of that Parimala, too), Pādukodaya, Komalavallī or Komala stava, Parāstuti and Krama are strictly the Krama texts. However this list leaves out the Mahārthodaya which, too, is a Krama text as its very name implies and which primarily deals with rejuvenation of the respective deities and mantras.[1] His other two works, namely, Saṁvidullāsa and Sūkta, are no doubt philosophical works and in a broad way echo the salient theses of the Kashmir Śaivism, but no information is at hand about their precise doctrinal associations. Regarding the rest of the works that comprise Kuṇḍalābharaṇa, Mukundakeli and Nakhapratāpa, the absence of extracts therefrom and Maheśvarānanda's wholesale taciturnity make it extremely difficult to be definite about them. But the contextual evidence does demonstrate his emphasis on the literary merit of these works.[2] Probably these were the pieces of his literature. Although the Komalāvallīstava and Parimala have also figured in along with these, they have been shown to be Krama works.

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1. अत्र च तत्तद्देवतामन्त्रोद्धारो मदीये महार्थोदये पर्यालोचनीयः ।

M.M.P., p.108.

2. अतश्च शब्दार्थसामरस्यात्मनि साहित्येऽप्यस्मदाग्रहः पारमेश्वरे-ऽनुग्रह एव यदनुप्राणिताः कुण्डलाभरणमुकुन्दकेलिपरिमलकोमलवल्लीस्तवनखप्रतापादयः प्रबन्धाः प्रख्यायन्ते ।

Ibid, p.73.

The Mahārthamañjarī was the practical realization of a divine vision. The story has it that he was impelled by a Yoginī, in whom he visualized Kāla-saṁkarṣiṇī, to undertake the writing of the Mahārthamañjarī.[1] Obviously, according to Prof. A.N.Upadhye, it is a ~~composition of~~ composition of the Saptati or Saptati pattern[2]. Since the Yoginī, who appeared in dream, used Prākṛta in expressing her will, he adopted Prākṛta in his Mahārthamañjarī, though he does not betray the command on Prākṛta which he has on Sanskrit[3]. But philosophically it is a mature text and well deserves its description as a "Prasthāna Grantha"[4]. It was also known as Mahākrama-mañjarī.[5]

The work called Pādukodaya is so named because it expounded the notion of Pādukā as its central theme. Pādukā is identical with the Power-absolute which consists in pure

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1. स्वप्नसमयोपलब्धा सा सुमुखी सिद्धयोगिनी देवी ।
   गाथाभिः सप्तत्या ख्यापितभाषाभिरस्तु सम्प्रीता ॥ M.M.P.,p.2.

2. 'Prākṛt Languages and Kashmir Śaivism', Prof. A.N.Upadhye, Dr. Ś.K.Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, Motilal Banarsidas, Banaras, 1957, p.193.

3. 'The composition of the gāthās clearly betrays that the author thinks and mentally drafts first in Sanskrit and then renders them into Prākṛt. This introduces a mechanical format and dialectical artificiality in the verses.' Ibid.

4. vide M.M.P., p.202.

5. Ibid.

bliss and tends to eliminate the sense of duality between self and notself.[1] It is purely a Krama concept.[2] Maheśvarānanda has considerably influenced the subsequent tantric literature. For instance, Śivopādhyāya leans on him for supporting his several statements.[3] Rāmeśvara, the commentator on Paraśu-rāma-kalpa-sūtra, refers to him on no less than three occasions.[4] Kaivalyāśrama quotes from his Parimala in the Saubhāgyavardhinī on the Ānanda-Laharī,[5] Rājānaklaksmīrāma, an 18th century commentator on Parātriśikā, quotes the Mahārthamañjarī in his commentary styled as Loghu-Vṛtti.[6] Saubhāgyavardhinī also refers to some Parāstotra and cites from it.[7] It is not known if it was identical with one

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1-2. यथोपदिष्टमतविद्भिः - परापरात्मनः स्वात्मनः
परानन्दमयी स्वव्यतिरेक कवलनोद्युक्ता परा शक्तिः पादुकेति
गीयते इति । ... इति स्थित्या प्रतिपादित सर्वार्थक्रमगर्भत्वमवंजनीयम्
~~[illegible]~~ ... । स्तच्च तत्प्रतिपादनमात्रोपदर्शितव्यापारे मदीये
श्री पादुकोदये तन्त्रे दृष्टव्यम् ॥ M.M.P., p.100.

3. V.Bh.V., pp.109,111,137.

4. P.K.S., pp.64,95,114,115,117.

5. S.V. on A.L., p.46.

6. P.T.L.V., p.7 (KSS No.69)

7. S.V. on A.L., p.46.

composed by our author.

It is to be noted that Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Tattvopaplava-siṁha styles his work as the Mahārthodaya[1]. But it is definitely a different work, because (i) Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa is much anterior to Maheśvarānanda, and (ii) the work by the former is addressed to the Lokāyata system, whereas the latter's deals with the Krama system. Hence the two cannot be identical.

With such an outstanding personality the later stage of the creative phase comes to an end, and one finally enters into a period of darkness and complete decadence.

5-(XXXXI). ŚITIKAṆṬHA (1450-1500 A.D.)

Barring the studies in Cola, the Krama studies in Kashmir practically came to a dead stop, after Jayaratha. This lull is broken by Śitikaṇṭha. Thus there were a few sporadic activities during this period as references to one Siddhapāda[2] by Śitikaṇṭha show, who like Lallā ventilated his views through the then Kashmiri dialect. There is

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1. भट्टश्रीजयदेवराशिगुरुभिः सृष्टो महार्थोदयः ।
तत्त्वोपप्लवसिंह एव इति यः ख्यातिं परां यास्यति ।

Tattvopaplavasiṁha of Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa, p.125 (last portion).

2. यत्र सिद्धपादा आदिदिशुः .... । M.P.(S).p.32; also pp.59-60.

reason to believe that the traditional lore of the system also did not die out completely, because Śitikaṇṭha himself claims to have inherited from , through preceptorial lineage, indeed, Īśānā who was one of the eight students of Cakrabhānu.[1] But there is no evidence to indicate if it had any creative activity worth the name. The three hundred and odd blank years are beset with the appearance of Śitikaṇṭha on the Krama horizon with his Mahānaya Prakāśa, which is different from its namesake by Śivānanda from Cola.

Besides the Mahānayaprakāśa , his other works include the Stotramālā[2], Kaulasūtra and commentary called Nyāsa on Jagaddhara's Bālabodhini commentary on the Kātantra Vṛtti. The Mahānayaprakāśa, or Mahārthaprakāśa as it is alluded to by several catalogues, is extant in print and almost complete (KSS No.XXI). Not only that it helps one trace the missing links in the history but also that it gives a thorough exposition of the Mahārtha principle. It is composed in the local vernacular of Kashmir of his

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1. ततश्च मानवौघस्यान्ते शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्मनुपादः अष्टानां शिष्याणां प्रभुः, यन्मध्यादाशी ईशानाख्या स(म) दन्तं पारम्पर्यनिदाम् ।
M.P.(S),p.107.

It may, however, be noted that the pedigree of his teachers to be given towards the end of this section does not include the name of Īśāna. It is possible that Soma, who heads the list, might have come in that tradition we do not know.

2. Dr.Pandey attributes, perhaps due to oversight, this work to the author of another Mahānayaprakāśa. Vide Abhi.p.439. Śitikaṇṭha ascribes the work to himself. Vide M.P.(S).p.47.

time.[1] But the commentary, that too also by the same author, is in Sanskrit. Towards the beginning of the century Grierson contributed a valued paper on the philological study of the Kashmiri language as used in this work. For reasons of space as well as relevance one has to abstain from going into details on this question.[2] He himself refers to the Stotramālā as a work from his pen.[3] There are two manuscripts of the same name in the Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.[4] As the contents of the MSS could not be looked into, it is difficult to be sure of its author or subject-matter. But presumably it pertains to the Stotramālā of

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1. अथोचितरुचितां नुतिं सर्वगोचरया देशभाषया विरचयितुमाह । M.P.(S), pp.47-48.

2. "The results value from two points of view. In the first place, they show clearly the lines of connection between the Indo-aryan side of Kashmiri and Sanskrit and, in the second place, they throw light on the various forms in Modern Kashmiri that, but for the Mahānaya-prakāśa would be inexplicable". Sir George A-Grierson, "The Language of the Mahanayaprakasa: An Examination of Kashmiri as written in the Fifteenth Century", Mem. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, Vol, xi, No.2, p.79.

3. यत्स्तुतं स्तोत्रमालायां मयैव -

विलोक्यते चित्रपटे यथोभयं पटैक्यमन्तर्वपुषां गणो बहिः ।

अखण्डधाम्नोऽन्तरमुष्य वेद्मा ज्ञात्वमदान्तर्गुणां चिदर्चिषाम् ॥

M.P.(S), pp.47-48.

4. MSS.Nos. 568 and 569 of 1884-86, BORI, Poona.

Śitikaṇṭha. Because hitherto no 'Stotramālā' by any other author has come to light as belonging to the Kashmir Śaivism. The Kula Sūtra or Kaulasūtra is his next work which pertains to the Kula system. Śitikaṇṭha also quotes from one Kulasūtra, without mentioning the author.[1] But the two manuscripts that are available today ascribe it to the authorship of Śitikaṇṭha in their colophons[2]. Aufrecht has taken notice of this work.[3] The one of the two extant manuscripts of this work belongs to Pt. Dīnanātha Yakṣa, the head pandit of Sanskrit section, Research Department, Srinagar and other is available in BORI Library, Poona.[4] Both the MSS begin with a similar remark by the scribe that he has written only a part of the text owing to the mutilated and depilated condition of the model script[5]. But still the MS at BORI is more correct and enlarged. The (BORI) MS appears to have finished where its Kashmiri counterpart ends,[6] but it again

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1. तथा च कुलसूत्रेषु उक्तम् -
कुलपीठदोत्रादिवर्णपंचपिण्डप्रणावव्यपदेश्यमखिलाभासकपायात अहंभावा-भिमतसंविदः समाश्रयभूतमात्मायतनं शरीरम् । इति
M.P(S),p.60.

2. इतिश्रीशितिकण्ठस्य शुभम् । (Kashmir MS)
कृतिर्गुरु भट्टश्री शितिकण्ठस्येति शुभम् । (BORI MS)

3. Cat.Cat., App.1.445.

4. MS.No.445 of 1875-76, BORI, Poona.

5. अथ कौलसूत्रान्तर्गतानि कानिचित् सूत्राणि लिख्यन्ते आदर्शच्छिन्नभिन्नत्वात् । (both MSS).

6. पामरोक्तोपासकसाधकसिद्धिसयुजां सहैव सहसा साक्षाचरणात् समरसीभूतानां वस्तुनि नांतरंगबहिरंगतापरस्परम् । इति । कौलसूत्राणि ।

MS.BORI, folio 2a (Kashmiri MS ends here).

takes up the thread. The Kulasūtra seems to have been originally divided into sixteen chapters called Svarakalās[1]. The (BORI) MS in its continuation gives seven such Kalās from 10th to 16th. The nine are missing. Under such circumstances one should not be surprised ~~ax~~ if one does not find the passage cited by Śitikaṇṭha in the MS. The work is in the Sūtra style and highlights the esoteric aspect of the Kula system. The relevant aspects of the text of the MS have been taken note of in the philosophical portion of the thesis. It may, however, be noted in passing that the BORI MS refers to the Kula and Krama systems alike.[2] And a comparative analysis of the Mahānayaprakāśa and the Kulasūtra unearths the identity of views with regard to a few controversial problems of Krama and further establishes the oneness of their authorship. His fourth work, called Nyāsa, is a famous sub-commentary on the Bālabodhinī commentary by Jagaddhara on the Kātantra Vṛtti. The present enquiry would not be even remotely connected with the work in the present context, but for its autobiographical references, that make the task of determining his date much easier. He is remotely blood-related to Jagaddhara. He is

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1. इति कुलसूत्रेषु षोडशस्वरकला ॥ MS.BORI, folio 4b.
2. यतः कुलक्रमप्रतिष्ठितप्रत्ययदासिद्धः समा(मया)चार स्व मंगलोदर्कः ।
   इति कुलसूत्रेषु द्वादशस्वरकला । Ibid, folio 3a.

son of the daughter's daughter of the greatgrandson of Jagaddhara.[1] And he wrote his Nyāsa during the reign of Hasan Shah, the son of Haider Shah[2]. Sri Mahavira Prasad Dwivedi basing his conclusions on the various statements of the Nyāsa points out that before he undertook to write the Nyāsa, he visited Gujarat and was warmly received by the king Mohammad Shah.[3] According to the Kāśmīrakusuma by Hariścandra, Husain Shah came to throne in 4583 Kali year equivalent to 1482 A.D.[4] This date is confirmed, with slight modification, by Śrīvara who puts the period of reign of Hasan Shah from 1472 to 1484[5] A.D., and according to the Rasamālā,[5] Mohammad Shah ruled over Gujarat from 1458 to 1511 A.D. On the basis of these historical data it is easy to find out his place in the chronology. He had visited Gujarat before he wrote his commentary; and while he started writing, king Hasan Shah was

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1. श्रीबालबोधिन्यभिधां कवीन्द्रो जगद्धरो यां विततान वृत्तिम् ।
तन्नप्तृकन्यातनयातनूजो व्याख्यात्यहं तां शितिकण्ठकोऽल्पम् ॥

   Quoted from Nyāsa, Grierson, "The Language of the Mahānayaprakāśa, p.74.

2. कश्मीराधिपतिः कृपाजलनिधिर्विख्यातकीर्तिश -
चिरं जीव्याद् हैदरशाहसूनुरनघः कन्दर्पदर्पावहः । Ibid.

3. Vide 'जगद्धरभट्ट की स्तुतिकुसुमाञ्जलि' by Mahavira Prasad Dwivedi,
   Kalyāṇa, Śivāṅka, pp.317-325 (reproduced from his work called Sāhitya Sandarbha).

4. (Vide Raj.T.by Śrīvara, Chap.VI.) Ibid.

5. Vide Contribution, Nagarajan (thesis), p.520.

on the helm. Hence he must have begun his work by 1480-82 A.D. Allowing a margin of about thirty years for intellectual equipment he may be assigned to the latter half of the 15th century. That is, he seems to have flourished during 1450-1500 A.D. On the basis of a few verses in the introduction, according to Dr. Nagrajan[1], his family tree on the parental side, may be roughly drawn up in this manner -

Soma
:
Avatāraka
:
Manohara
:
Mocaka
:
Yodhaka — Śrīkaṇṭha
:
Arjuna
:
Śitikaṇṭha.

It is also gathered that Śrīvara, perhaps the famous historian who was patronized by Sultan Zainul-Abidin, Haider Shah and Hasan Shah successively, Srināśeṣa(?) and Varadeś-vara were his teachers. It is, thus, obvious that preceptorially and ancestrally -- on both sides -- he was richly endowed with an atmosphere conducive to scholarly pursuits.

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1. vide Contribution, p.520.

5-(XXXXI). ANANTA ŚAKTIPĀDA (1700-1750 A.D.)

The colophon of the published commentary on the Vātūla-nātha-sūtra attributes it to some Anantaśaktipāda.[1] Although the tradition as recorded here belongs to the Sāhasa school and is traced to one very old preceptor of the Krama school, namely, Niṣkriyānandanātha, the commentary as such is quite recent. One knows nothing about the actual author of the Sūtras or the commentator thereon. One of the reasons behind this ignorance lies in its total escape from the notice of other texts and scholars. This commentary, like Chummā-Saṁpradāya-prakāśa, must be of quite late origin. In the absence of any evidence, either external and internal, it may be bracketed with the Chummā Sampradāya on the basis of the similarity of contents. Since a passage from the Chummā-Sampradāya has been quoted by Śivopādhyāya (18th century), Ananta Śaktipāda can only be placed somewhere before him.[2] While discussing Niṣkriyānanda some doubts in this behalf have already been expressed.

According to M.S.Kaul, the editor, the glassator seems to have commented also upon the Bahurūpa-garbha-stotra.[3] The

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1. समाप्तेयं श्रीमद्वातूलनाथसूत्रवृत्तिः । कृतिः श्रीमदनन्तशक्तिपादानाम् ।

2. V.Bh.V.,p.67.

3. V.N.S.,Foreward, p.2.

MS.No.1135 of 1886-92 at BORI, Poona contains the text of the Bahurūpagarbhastotra with a Vṛtti which is bound in a single cover with the Svacchanda Tantra. It is not known if it is identical with one in question.

5-(XXXXII). BHAṬṬĀRAKA (1700-1750 A.D.)

Not much is known about Bhaṭṭāraka except that he was the author of the work named, Prākṛta-triṁśikā-vivaraṇa. The frequent discussion on the nature of the Vṛndacakra was the main feature of the book[1] - this is all that Śivopādhyāya tells us. The fact that the text primarily deals with the Vṛnda-cakra is enough to prove that it was Krama text. From the pattern of the title of the text, it may be conjured up that it was probably an exposition of some text in Prākṛta language modelled on the pattern of the Parā Triṁśikā in Sanskrit. Since it is from Śivopādhyāya's reference that one comes to know of him, he may be tentatively placed prior to Śivopādhyāya who is assigned to the period 1725-1775 A.D.

5-(XXXXIII). ŚIVOPĀDHYĀYA (1725-1775 A.D.)

With him the Krama system finally comes to a full stop. He is not primarily a Krama author, yet the reason for

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1. वृन्दचक्रनिर्णयस्तु बहुधा भट्टारककृतप्राकृतत्रिंशिकाविवरणे विचार्यः इत्यलम् । V.Bh.V., p.69.

2. V.M.3.

present temptation to include him among the Krama authors lies in his ingenious remarks that he has never failed to make about the intricacies of the Krama system , whenever he could seize an opportunity to do so throughout his Vivṛti, on the Vijñāna-bhairava[1]. In depth, subtlety and muturity, he sometimes reminds us of the best masters, and presupposes a little bit of acquintance with the system on the part of the reader. It will be amply borne out in the philosophical portion of the present thesis.

His earstwhile printed work, the Vivṛti, is an attempt to restore to posterity the commentary of Kṣemarāja that was irreparably lost even in his time. It was available only upto the 23rd verse.[2] In continuing the venture, he closely draws on Kṣemarāja as is evinced by the fact that he attributes to Spanda-Kārikās to Vasugupta and not to Kallaṭa.[3] By now one is fully conversant with the significance that this controversy asumed in the realms of Kashmir Śaivism. But at the same time he points out the omissions of Kṣemarāja and throws a veiled hint of the improvement brought about by him.[4]

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1. Vide. V.Bh.V., pp.47, 50-52, 58, 66-69, 85-86, 95-97, 104-111, 115, 140 etc.
2. श्रुतं देव मयेत्यादिप्रश्नग्रन्थार्थबन्धनम् ।
   ऊर्ध्वे प्राणादिपद्यान्तं क्षेमराजकृतं शुभम् ॥ V.Bh.V., p.143.
3. यदुक्तं वसुगुप्तपादैः 'एकचिन्ताप्रसक्तस्य .. तमुपलक्षयेत्'। Ibid, p.84.
4. तत्र राति-वाति-क्रियायुगलार्थौ द्वितीयपादोक्तः क्षेमराजादिभिः न चैतितौ
   यतो विज्ञानोद्योतमंगलश्लोकप्रारम्भे भरणाद्यर्थं एव प्रकटीकृतः ।
   Ibid, p.115.

His only other known work, the Śrīvidyāvivaraṇa, that pertaining to the Tripurā system - is extant today only in manuscripts. One of the available manuscript entitled Śrīvidyāvivaraṇa belongs to Pt. Dīnānātha Yakṣa of Kashmir, whereas the other named Mantrarāja to BORI, Poona, which is bound with other MSS numbering 452, 481 and 482 of 1875-76. It is not numbered and has been described as "fragment Mantra-śāstrīyo-granthaḥ". The book seems to be complete work although the last few words are missing.

Some of his whereabouts have come down to us. In the end of his commentary on the Vijñānabhairava, he gives out his name as Śivaguṇi, Gotra as Kauśika and suggests the necessary accompaniment of his name with the Jāti-title "Upādhyāya"[1]. He was also known as Śiva-Svāmin, but the Jāti-title Upādhyāya always formed the part of his name--this one learns from the concluding verse of the Śrīvidyāvivaraṇa. It was a commentary on a Tripurā text called Mantrarāja pertaining to the Saubhāgya school. He belonged to Kaṣṭhūla province of Kashmir which, though escaping a definite identification, was a village or

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1. विज्ञानतंत्रविवृतिः कृतसंग्रहेयं वृत्त्यन्तरात्क्वचिदपि स्वमतेर्विलासात्।
नाम्ना शिवेतिगुणकौशिकगोत्रजात्योपाध्याय शब्दयुतयाप्युपलदितेन ।।

V.Bh.V., p.143.

township on the banks of Jhelam (Vitastā).[1] The colophon of the MS also gives the name of his father as Prakāśópādhyāya-Svāmin and also the other title of his commentary as <u>Anubhava-bodha-vidyā</u>.[2] Similarly, the colophon of the Vivṛti tells us that he was the pupil of some Sundarakaṇṭha, who was probably famous as Govindaguru or the teacher of Govinda.[3]

In this connection it is quite interesting to know the real psychology behind his ~~xxx~~ unusual insistence on the Jāti-title Upādhyāya. In his time the Jāti-title Upādhyāya carried a special social recognition. He alone could lay claim to the membership of the Upādhyāya class (or Pādipī in the spoken language) who could teach respective systems to their followers distinguished by their respective surnames as the Trika, Kaula and Bhaṭṭa. In the local dialect the first and third were known as the Tikī, and Raina or Rājāna respectively. Those who concentrated on the Trika system were called Tikī;

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1. आश्माद्रेश्चारु दूरादिविपिनमिलित: श्वेतगंगावगाहात् -
पूतस्वान्तेन काश्मीरिकविबुधशिवस्वाम्युपाध्यायनाम्ना ।
व्याख्यातो मन्त्रराज: प्रकटविमलसत्सम्प्रदाय: परायाः
श्रीविद्याया गभीरो हरिहरदिवसे शिष्यबोधार्थमेष: ।।
यस्मिन्नैकत्र पार्श्वे वहति परनदी श्रीवितस्तेति गीता
पार्श्वेऽन्यस्मिन्नुमाचूचुक्सरणिगलद्दुग्धधारा नदी च ।
तस्मिन् काष्ठूलदेशे विरचितवसतिर्लब्धवर्णः शिवाख्यो
व्याख्यात् सौभाग्यविद्यामभिमतफलदां जात्युपाध्यायशब्द: ।।
(MS. of Pt. Yaksa)

2. इतिश्री विद्याविवरणम् अनुभवबोध-विद्याख्यं कृति: प्रकाशोपाध्यायस्वामिपुत्र-
शिवोपाध्यायस्वामिन: ।
Ibid.

3. कृति: श्रीमद्गोविन्दगुरु सुन्दरकण्ठपादपद्मानुजीविन:
शिवोपाध्यायस्य इति शिवम् ।।
V. Bh. V. p. 144.

those who were dedicated to the performance of the Kaula rituals and the study of the Kula sūtra were called Kaula; and, those who belonged to the higher Strata among the Brahmins and claimed highest accomplishments with their proficiency in the science of Mantras were called Raina or Rājāna. Naturally, Śivopādhyāya is fully justified in his extra emphasis on the clas-title, because it reflected his still higher social status and superb intellectual achievement.[1]

His time is almost certain. According to him, he completed his commentary on the Vijñānabhairava when Kashmir was being ruled by King Sukha-Jīvana[2]. According to historians king Sukhajīvana reigned over Kashmir from 1754 to 1762 A.D. Hence he may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the 18th century.[3]

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1. एवं त्रिकार्थतत्त्वं ये विमृशन्ति बुधास्सदा ते व्याख्याता द्विजा भूमौ त्रिकजातीय-
संज्ञया तिकी इत्याद्यापि अपभाषति, त्रिककौलादिभट्टानां तत्त्वशास्त्रार्थबोधने
गुरवो ये समुद्दिष्टास्ते ह्युपाध्यायजातयः तान् पादिपी इत्युपभाषन्ति त्रिकाः,
कुलमानप्रतिष्ठानात् कुलपूजारताश्च य ते कौला भुवि विख्याताः कुलसूत्रप्रपाठकाः
महाब्राह्मणजातियांसोद्दिष्टा भट्टसंज्ञका सर्वोत्कृष्टप्रबोधस्था भट्टास्ते पंडिता
स्मृताः मंत्रप्रयोगकुशला राजान इतीरितः रैन इत्यपभाषन्ति तां जनाः इत्यादि-
जातिनिर्णयविस्तारसंहिता सुदृष्टव्यः । MS., BORI, folio. 10a.

2. सुखजीवनाभिधाने रक्षति काश्मीरमंडलं नृपतौ ।
अगमन्निः शेषात्त्वं विज्ञानोद्योतसंग्रहः सुगमः ॥ V.Bh.V., p.144.

3. Kashmir through the Ages, G.L.Kaul, p.63.

6. CERTAIN KRAMA WORKS BY ANONYMOUS AUTHORS INCLUDING EXCLUSIVE KRAMA ĀGAMAS

Really speaking these works which are proposed to be taken up presently did not require a separate section. They should have been dealt with in the preceding section, but for the reasons specified below. Presently the main intention is to take a brief notice of those works whose authorship, for various factors, is not known today. And consequently their exact chronological position is also a matter of speculation. In the last section a special endeavour was made to maintain a chronological continuity to the fullest possible extent. Perhaps that continuity would be difficult to maintain, if these works of unknown whereabouts were also included therein.

In this section there is two types of literature before us. The first is āgamic (revealed) literature and the second, human composition. In the first category there are again two subtypes. One pertains to the āgamic Śaiva literature of Kashmir in general which every system of the Kashmir Śaivism feels impelled to draw upon, and which in its deliberations anticipates many Krama doctrines. The other relates to the exclusive Krama āgamas that are mainly responsible for the rise of divergent traditions with regard to the important Krama theses. Owing to the enormity of the literature of the first type, it is not possible to discuss them here, more so in view

of their having been resorted to wherever called for, in the philosophical part of the thesis. This category includes such esteemed agamas as the Mālinīvijaya, Sarvajñānottara, Brahmayāmala, Tantrarāja and Kiraṇāgama etc. etc. The other type comprises the Krama āgamas alone. They are but a few in number and the relevance of introducing them need not be questioned. The other category of works includes the works of human origin and though their names are known from references, their authors are not known and the texts are not extant. In view of the importance attached to them in the system, a reference to them seems justified. It is proposed to take up the āgamas first and then, the other works.

6-A. THE KRAMA ĀGAMAS

Before the discussion of the individual āgamas is embarked upon, it may be noted that the Krama āgamas as such are of a comparatively later date than their counterparts in the general field. In this connection it is also interesting to note that they generally belong to the 'Nigama' class of the tantric classification. 'Āgama' refers to that class of scriptural literature which is addressed to Pārvatī by Śiva, while 'Nigama' is said to refer to works spoken by Pārvatī to Śiva.[1] The majority of the Krama āgamas would fall

1. आगतं शिववक्त्रेभ्यो गतंच गिरिजानने ।
मतं च वासुदेवस्य तस्मादागम उच्यते ।।
निर्गतं गिरिजावक्त्राद् गतंच गिरिशश्रुतौ ।
मतंच वासुदेवस्य तस्मान्निगम उच्यते ।।

in line with the Nigama class. In fact these two classes of āgamas in the strict Krama parlance represent the two tendencies distinguished by their respective emphasis on the supremacy of either between Śiva and Śakti. Let us now advert to the āgamas proper in their probable chronological order.

6-A(I). PAÑCAŚATIKA OR DEVĪPAÑCAŚATIKA[1]

The Pañcaśatika is one of the earliest or is the earliest known Krama āgama. Jayaratha explicitly tells us that this āgama was known to Somānanda.[2] Abhinava also seems to have referred to it.[3] It was also known as Devīpañcaśatika[4].

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1. It has been included among "the works of Early Teachers" by Dr. Pandey. Vide Abhi., pp. 471, 474. But it is not so. That it is an āgama is proved by its construction and that it was taken to be so, is established by Jayaratha's own statement. In a passage quoted from it (T.A.V., iii, p. 181) the Devī is the speaker and Śiva is being addressed, vide सा कला परमा- कौंति ज्ञेया मस्मागमभूषणा for a similar passage also see p. 169. Likewise Jayaratha is very clear on its being an Āgama. Vide. येन श्री पंचशतिकादौ संहारकालीशब्दव्यपदेश्या, इति तन्नाम्ना आगम उच्यते, इति दूरेण संबंधः, तदुक्तं तत्र T.A.V., III, p. 166. For a similar statement of Jayaratha, also see pp. 160, 161.
2. श्री देवीपंचशतिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानंदभट्टपादेभ्यः प्रभृतित्रिकदर्शनवदेव गुरवः ।
Ibid, p. 194.
3. ततश्च प्रागियं शुद्धा तथाभासनोत्सुका ।
सृष्टिं कलयते देवी तन्नाम्नागम उच्यते ॥ T.A. 4.148. Jayaratha explains आगमे as श्रीपंचशतिकादौ । T.A.V., III, p. 158.
4. देवीपंचशताख्यमाश्रित्य च भूतिराजपूर्वाणाम् इत्यभिदधद्भिर्भवद्भिरेवोक्तम्...
तर्हि श्रीपंचशतिकार्थमपि न जानीषे ।
Ibid, p. 194.

A fairly definite date can be assigned to it. Since the Pañcaśatika contains the name of the first four teachers of the Krama including the last one, i.e., Śivānanda[1], and also since it was known to Somānanda, it may be placed in between them. Śivānanda, the first preceptor, is ascribed to the first half of the ninth century and Somānanda is distanced from him only by two generations- that is, Somānanda belongs to the close of the ninth and the beginning of the eleventh century. It is therefore quite likely that this āgama would have come up towards the middle of the ninth century.

Coming to the views of the Pañcaśatika one finds that the Rudrakālī, which signifies the nature of withdrawal with reference to the means of knowledge in Anākhyā cakra, was termed Bhadrakālī by it without any change in the meaning.[2] One of the important implications of Jayaratha's discussion on the Pañcaśatika is that by including the name of Sukālī in the list, the text seems to subscribe to the thirteen-kālī theory.[3] This marks a sharp contrast from the Kramastotra which sticks to the twelve-kālī doctrine. The opponents of Jayaratha say how the latter still opines that the Krama stotra follows the Pañcaśatika. First, Jayaratha side-tracks the issue by calling

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1. T.A.V., xi, p.31 (Ah.29th).

2. Ibid , p.173.

3. Ibid, p.189.

attention to the original question - whether or not the Kramastotra adhered to the twelve-kālī thesis[1] -- and then, says that if the opponent persists in his accusation he does not even know the meaning of the Pañcaśatika.[2] However, this goes to evince amply that its tradition had suffered a great setback by the time of Jayaratha. Even its text started having variants and naturally became liable to varying interpretations. Jayaratha has cited one such instance, while referring to Ojarāja's interpretation of a portion of it.[3] Besides these, it maintained a topsyturvy manner in Sthitikrama so as to hide the real Saṁvit-krama. In designing Pūjākrama the Krama authors rather emulated it.[4] Similarly it maintained the separate identity of the Cakras like Sṛṣṭi and Saṁhāra etc.[5]

6-A(II). SĀRDHAŚATIKA

The Sārdhaśatika is another important āgama that completely dittoes the stand taken by the Pañcaśatika with

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1. T.A.V., III, pp.190-91.
2. Ibid, p.194.
3. Ibid, xii, p.197.
4. किं तु आगमे संवित्क्रमगोपनार्थम् आलूनविशीर्णतयैवमभिधानं, यथा श्रीपंचशतिके स्थितिक्रमेऽपि, यदेव चानुसृत्य महागुरुभिः पूजाक्रमः प्रक्रान्तः । Ibid, III, pp.161-62.
5. तदेवमष्टनवमयोरपि चक्रयोः श्रीदेवीपंचशतिकै सृष्टिसंहारचक्रयोरिव सैकविधेति न कश्चिद् विरोधः । V.M.V., p.71.

regard to the precise number of Kālīs in Anākhyā Cakra. And, therefore it always mentioned Sthitikālī after Sṛṣṭikālī. On the contrary, in the Kramastotra Rakta-kālī and not Sthitikālī is made to follow Sṛṣṭikālī. An objection is raised by the opponent as to whether it is not a clear violation of the āgamic authority.[1] The context makes it abundantly clear that Sārdhaśatika too was equally authoritative a Krama āgama as the Pañcaśatika, otherwise sanction of the same would not have been invoked on an exclusively Krama issue. The only other available reference to it has figured in a similar context.[2] It appears to be a fairly old āgama. On the basis of a close dialogue between it and the Pañcaśatika it may be assigned to the same period subject to the results of future investigations in the field.

6-A(III). KRAMA-RAHASYA

The Krama-rahasya seems to be a minor āgama. It is referred to once only by Abhinava.[3] It may, therefore, be

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1. ननु सर्वत्रैवान्यत्र श्रीसृष्टिकाल्यनन्तरं श्रीस्थितिकाल्या-अभिधानम् यदुक्तं श्री-सार्धशतिके ... इति, तत्कथमिह तदनन्तरं श्रीरक्तकाल्यादिनिर्देशः कृतः, एवं हि आगमविरोधः स्यात् । T.A.V., III, p.161.

अन्यत्र here means "texts other than the Kramastotra".

2. ननु क्रमदर्शने सर्वत्रैव श्रीसृष्ट्यादिदेवीनां मध्ये श्री सुकाल्या भगवत्या अभिधानं, येन अनाख्यचक्रे त्रयोदश देव्यः... तदुक्तं श्रीपंचशतिके ... । श्रीसार्धशतिके तु समनन्तरमेव संवादितम् । Ibid, p.189.

3. स्वमस्य प्राधान्येऽपि अवान्तरवस्त्वपेक्षाया शास्त्रान्तरेऽन्यदपि किंचिद् प्रधानतयोक्तमित्याह - [श्रीमत्क्रमरहस्ये च न्यरूपि परमेशिना ।
[अर्घपात्रं यागधाम दीप इत्युच्यते त्रयम् ।। T.A.29.14.
(T.A.V., xi, p.14, Ah.29).

concluded that this āgama may not be as old as the Pañcaśatika, but its antiquity does go beyond Abhinava. Abhinava quotes it in a Kula context in order to show how the emphases vary from system to system. In Kula rituals wine is said to be of utmost importance. But, the Krama-rahasya is represented to hold the other view and, instead, attaches the supreme importance to the trio of Arghapātra, Yāgadhāma and Dīpa. Now which else can this other system be? Obviously it ought to be Krama as is suggested by the very nomenclature of the text. That it belonged to the āgama's category is confirmed by the fact that it was the Lord Himself who expounded this view in the Krama-rahasya. Perhaps, it mainly concentrated on the ritualistic part of the system.

6-A(IV). KRAMASADBHĀVA

The Krama-sadbhāva is again an āgama of the Nigama type, because it is in the form of a dialogue between Pārvatī and Śiva.[1] Authors of the rank and file of Abhinavagupta, Jayaratha, Maheśvarānanda and Śitikaṇṭhācārya have referred to it.

It was possibly known as 'Krama' also. While reasoning out the necessity of the removal of doubt, Abhinava looks up to the āgamas as well. Among the other āgamas the

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1. कालोत्थिता महादेव सानन्दा नन्दिनी शिवा । T.A.V., III, p.190. The address "Mahādeva" may be noted. Vide also [पुरा यत्कथितं देव । पंचवाहमहाक्रमम् ॥ M.M.P., p.108.

name of the Krama also appears.[1] Jayaratha's immediate interpretation of the word is in terms of the Krama philosophy, but soon after he quotes from each āgama at issue and it is the Kramasadbhāva which is quoted for the Krama.[2] This seems to be conclusively established, because elsewhere also Jayaratha refers to the Krama Sadbhāva as Kramabhaṭṭāraka, the title bhaṭṭāraka being only an honorific one.[3] This is further confirmed by his reference to Krama Sadbhāva as the Kramasadbhāvabhaṭṭāraka[4]. It is thus certain that Abhinava by the name "Krama" means the Kramasadbhāva. consequently this āgama, too, belongs to the period preceding Abhinava.

By the time of Jayaratha people appear to have lost direct touch with the text. Evidently some confusion prevailed in respect of its actual stand on the number of Kālīs to be

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1. न चात्र युक्तिरेवास्ति यावदागमोऽपीत्याह -
   श्रीसर्वाचारवीरालीनिशाचारक्रमादिषु ॥
   शास्त्रेषु विततं चैतद् तत्र तत्रोच्यते यतः ।
   T.A.12.23-24.

   क्रमः क्रमदर्शनम् , ... । T.A.V., vii, p.106(Ah.12).

2. तत्रत्यमेव ग्रन्थैकदेशमुदाहरति ... । श्रीक्रमसद्भावेऽपि ....
   शंकाशून्यो भवेत्सदा इति । Ibid, pp.106-107.

3. श्रीक्रमभट्टारकादौ स्थितिनाशकालीशब्दव्यपदेश्येत्यर्थः, यदुक्तं तत्र - ।
   Ibid, III, p.163.

4. श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके रुद्रकालीति व्यपदिष्टेत्यर्थः ।
   Ibid, p.173; also see.p.190.

adored in Anākhyā cakra. At one place, while invoking its authority in support of the Ṣoḍaśāra cakra Jayaratha puts their number to be sixteen,[1] while at other place the statement ascribed to it recognizes their number to be seventeen.[2] Due to the unity of their source it is difficult to know today what its actual stand was. Yet, it is sure that it did not agree with the projected number of the deities at twelve or thirteen. Despite the controversy with regard to the real allegiance of the Kramastotra, there is no doubt that the Kramastotra took a different line from that of the Kramasadbhāva. The view, therefore, that the Stotrakāra closely followed this āgama is erroneous and misleading.[3] It coined a few new phrases to describe certain deities. Thus Sthitikālī is termed as Sthiti-nāśakālī[4] and Bhadrakālī as Rudrakālī.[5]

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1. यदभिप्रायेणैव श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके
   अनाख्यचक्रे षोडशैव देव्यः पूज्यत्वेनोक्ताः । T.A.V.,III,p.136.
2. यतः श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके अनाख्यचक्रे सप्तदश देव्यः पूज्यत्वेनोक्ताः,
   यदुक्तंतत्र ... । Ibid,p.190.
3. अतएव च एतदाशयेन च श्रीस्तोत्रकारस्य पूजाक्रमः, इति न
   ग्राह्यम - । Ibid,p.191.
4. Ibid, p.163.
5. श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके रुद्रकालीति व्यपदिष्टा । Ibid,p.173.

According to Śitikaṇṭha, the Kramasadbhāva discussed Vṛnda cakra in detail.[1] This is borne out by ~~the~~ at least one passage, cited from it, that by Maheśvarānanda, that deals with the Pātakrama under Vṛndacakra[2]. The Krama-sadbhāva is quoted again in support of his view that the order of the five functions of the Absolute, in which they ought to be worshipped, begins with creation and ends with Bhāsā.[3] A few minor views also have been ascribed to the Kramasadbhāva, which are not referred to here.[4]

6-A(V). KĀLIKĀKRAMA

The utterances quoted from the Kālikākrama are marked by their genuine philosophical aptitude unnoticed in any of the āgamas discussed so far. It is the reason why Kṣemarāja quotes so profusely from it in his Vimarśinī on the Śivasūtras[5]

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1. स च वृन्दक्रमः क्रमसद्भावे सविस्तरमुपदिष्टः । M.P.(S).p.86.
2. यथा श्रीक्रमसद्भावे-

    ज्ञानं सृष्टिं विजानीयात् स्थितिर्मन्त्रः प्रकीर्तितः ।
    संहारं तु महाकालमेलापं परमं विदुः ॥
    अनाख्यं शक्तिरूपं तु भासाख्यं शम्भुरूपकम् ।
    पंचप्रकारमेतद्धि विज्ञेयं तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ M.M.P.,p.97.

3. यथा श्रीक्रमसद्भावे- तेषां मध्यात् क्रमेणैव आदौ पूज्यस्तु कः क्रमः ।
    तन्मे कथय सुश्रोणि विस्तरेण यथाविधि ॥
   इति प्रश्नानन्तरम् - पुरा यत्कथितं देव पंचवाहमहाक्रमम् ।
    तेषां तु क्रमराजानाम् सृष्टिरूपो यतः सदा ॥
    ततस्तु स्थितिसंहारमनाख्यं च ततः परम् ।
    भासाख्यं च ततः पश्चाद् पूजयेदक्रमक्रमम् ॥ Ibid,p.108.

4. Vide.Ibid,pp.88,101.
5. S.S.Vi,pp.111,113,118,119,120,123,131,133,139.

and the later authors do not, except for one identical passage[1]. Because with the passage of time real philosophical zeal started to simmer down among the Krama authors. Among the later authors are included Yogarāja, Śivānanda (the author of the Mahānayaprakāśa), Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda. The work also passed in the name of the Devikākrama. For, while quoting the some passage as hinted above, Maheśvarānanda attributes it to the Devikākrama.[2]

The very first contact with the extracts conveys the impression of their being from some philosophical treatise and not from an Āgama. But a passage cited from it by Kṣemarāja[3] leaves no scope for doubting its āgamic character. In this extract the work is said to be of divine origin, that is, the philosophical truths are revealed by Bhairava.

Coming to its time some broad outlines may be indicated. Till Abhinava there is no trace of the work; it is

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1. तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं बहिरन्तः प्रकाशते ।
ज्ञानादृते नार्थसत्ता ज्ञानरूपं ततो जगत् ॥
नहि ज्ञानादृते भावाः केनचिद्विषयीकृताः ।
ज्ञानं तदात्मतां यातमेतस्मादवसीयते ॥
T.A.V., III, p.390;
P.S.V., p.90; M.M.P., p.10.

2. तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं ... अवसीयते ॥ इति श्रीदेविकाक्रमस्थित्या.....
M.M.P., p.10.

3. तथा च श्रीकालिकाक्रमे
तस्मान्नित्यमसंदिग्धं बुद्ध्वा योगं गुरोर्मुखात् ।
अविकल्पेन भावेन भावेत्तन्मयत्वतः ॥
यावत्तत्त्वसमतां याति भगवान् भैरवोऽब्रवीत् । इति
S.S.Vi, p.111.

learnt from Kṣemarāja for the first time. Since Kṣemarāja claims to have received all his knowledge from Abhinava, it may be surmised that Abhinava at least knew of it. Even otherwise, the text might be contemporaneous with Abhinava or slightly later, because one has already seen that *Vimarśinī* is the last work of Kṣemarāja.

As to its philosophical ideas, one may begin with the most famous passage to which attention has been drawn. As its first premise it declares the entire manifold -whether internal or external - to be of the nature of pure awareness. It is awareness that assumes the form of respective objects. Nobody has even visualised the objective world unless it has become a fact of his experience. Since awareness does not proceed without its object just as affirmation is meaningless without negation; and, since the two are always simultaneously realised, the awareness and its object are bound to be one in essence. It is why the Krama system views the objective variety as an expression of the absolutic dynamism.[1]

In another similarly popular passage it draws one's attention to the nature of the Absolute as supreme awareness

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1. कालिकाक्रमेऽपि

तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं ..... अवसीयते ॥

अस्तिनास्तिविभागेन विभागेन निषेधविधियोगतः ।

ज्ञानात्मता ज्ञेयनिष्ठा भावानां भावनाबलात् ॥

युगपद्वेदनाज्ज्ञानज्ञेययोरेकरूपता ॥ इति

S.S.Vi,p.118.

and that of its power, called Vimarśa, as omniscience. In fact the two cannot be visualised analytically. Thus the process of Japa, if undertaken by a yogin, transpires to be self-reflection on the self-divinity.[1] In a similar strain it is insisted upon that one, who could realize knowledge,— without its referent and, — as consisting in self-consciousness, achieves true freedom even during the embodied span of life.[2] Ignorance and knowledge, both being the manifestations of the ultimate reality, the talk of destruction of either is meaningless. Because, even when the interplay of nescience is said to have been eliminated, the real nature of it remains intact. To talk of rise and annihilation of nescience is the sheer luxury of figurative language. The only cure, therefore, by implication, lies in appreciating the basically absolutic character of the two.[3] Thus the experience of pleasure

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1. तस्यदेवातिदेवस्य परबोधस्वरूपिण: ।
   विमर्श: परमा शक्ति: सर्वज्ञा ज्ञानशालिनी ।। [इति श्रीकालिकाक्रमनिरूपित-
   रीत्या ... स्वात्मदेवताविमर्शानवरतावर्तनात्मा जपो जायते ।

   S.S.Vi, p.113; also see p.139.
   Vide also T.A.V., III, pp.187, 387.

2. अतएव श्रीकालिकाक्रमे ... तथा सर्वं शुद्धं निरालंबं ज्ञानं स्वप्रत्ययात्मकम् ।
   य: पश्यति स मुक्तात्मा जीवन्नेव न संशय: ।

   Ibid, p.119.

3. यदुक्तं तत्रैव -
   नाशेऽविद्याप्रपंचस्य स्वभावो न विनश्यति ।
   उत्पत्तिध्वंसविरहात्तस्मान्नाशो न वास्तव: ।।
   यतोऽविद्यासमुत्पत्तिध्वंसाभ्यामुपचर्यते ।
   यत्स्वभावेन नष्टं न तन्नष्टं कथमुच्यते ।। इति ।

   Ibid, p.120.

and pain is a necessary outcome of the enormous mental construction. A yogin is advised to pierce through this great illusion of duality so as to attain the real fruit of the yoga.[1] In fact, the entire objective paraphernalia beginning with the categories of the pure order such as Śiva etc., is the logical corollary of the loss of knowledge coupled with the rise of mental constructions. And all the good or bad objects stem from the same. What one calls evil, leads on to pain and hell because of its character as sheer intellectual fabrication.[2] It is therefore imperative for one to eliminate all the empirical as well as imaginary associations (Vṛtti), to rest on the inner plane, to relinquish the empirical network of mental constructs through one's monistic attitude, and then to remain self-composed and ever prepared to kill the element of time, if he cares to reach the highest stage of his existence consisting in freedom. Such a view needs no explanation. Because, just as in one's daily life the objects of a dream are no longer perceptible when the person is awake, in the same way the world ceases to figure

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1. तदुक्तं श्रीकालिकाक्रमे - सुखदुःखादिविज्ञानविकल्पानल्पकल्पितम् ।
भित्त्वा द्वैतमहामोहं योगी योगफलं लभेत् ।। इति

S.S.Vi,p.123.

2. तदुक्तं तत्रैव - यदविद्यावृततया विकल्पविधियोगतः ।
शिवादीन्नैव झटिति समुद्भावयतेऽखिलान् ।।
ततः शुभाशुभाः भावालक्ष्यन्ते तद्वशत्वतः ।
अशुभेभ्यश्च भावेभ्यः परं दुःखं प्रजायते ।। इति ।

Ibid,p.123; also see,p.131.

in the yogin's perception when he views it through Bhāvanā- i.e., identifying it with the universal self[1].

This was of course a Krama text, as the above deliberations would show, in addition to the suggestivity of the title.

6-A(VI). KRAMA SIDDHI

The Kramasiddhi is an āgama of the later origin. It is difficult to ascertain its exact period but it was known to none of Abhinava, Kṣemarāja and Jayaratha. Throughout the history of the Krama thought it is Maheśvarānanda alone who draws our attention to it.[2] It therefore appears likely that the work did not come into light until the lapse of the 11th century.

The lower limit may further be stretched upto the time of Jayaratha. It may also interest one to note that even in later Krama or other tantric literature one does not hear of this work. It, therefore, must have been a minor work. It chose the form of a dialogue between the two -- the god and

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1. यदुक्तं तत्रैव -

यथा स्वप्नानुभूतार्थान्प्रबुद्धो नैव पश्यति ।
तथा भावनया योगी संसारं नैव पश्यति ।। इति । तथा
निरस्य सदसद्वृत्तीः संश्रित्यपदमान्तरम् ।
विहायकल्पनाजालमद्वैतेन परापरम् ।
यः स्वात्मनिरतो नित्यं कालग्रासैकतत्परः ।
कैवल्यपदभाग्योगी स निर्वाणपदं लभेत् ॥ इति । S.S.vi, pp.133-34.

2. M.M.P., pp.89, 97, 101, 109.

the goddess. But it is doubtful who really played the role of teacher and who that of disciple. Because, of all the four extracts cited by Maheśvarānanda only two have some bearing on this point. In one, Śiva is addressed by Devī who imparts to him the secrets of the Saṁvitkrama,[1] whereas in the other Śiva is approached by Devī and he tells her the esoteric significance of the word Krama.[2] The obvious conclusion seems to be that this āgama adopted a midway course and alternately subscribed to both the tendencies about the concept of the absolute in the Krama system.

Certain other views, besides those described above, have come down to us. There were varying opinions about the precise order of the five flows (Pañcavāha) of the Universal energy. The order followed by Maheśvarānanda was the one laid down by the Kramasiddhi.[3] This question has been fully considered in connection with the study on the Pañcavāha. In another passage, the Kramasiddhi is represented to have prescribed a

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1. यथोक्तं श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ -
   संवित्क्रमं देव श्रृणु वदयामि सुन्दर । M.M.P., p.97.
2. यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ -
   ककारः क्रोधरूपस्तु मकारो मंगलो भवेत् ।
   क्रोधे तु मंगलं कुर्याद् क्रमः कालक्रमो भवेत् ॥
   गुर्वायत्तं क्रमज्ञानमाज्ञासिद्धिकरं परम् ।
   क्रमज्ञानान्महादेवि त्रैलोक्यं कवलीकृतम् ॥ Ibid, p.109.
3. तत्र तत्संप्रदायानुगुण्यात् तन्निरूपणकाङ्क्षया । अस्मत्क्रमस्तु निर्दिष्टक्रम एव । यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ .... । Ibid, p.89.

a specific type of the Pātakrama. The Pātakrama is one of the constituents of the eightfold approach to the Vṛnda cakra. The Pāta consists in finding out the basic identity between Pañcavāha and Vṛndacakra. But the same may be found to consist in the identity between the five siddhas, namely, Jñānasiddhas etc., and the five absolutic functions, ranging from Sṛṣṭi to Bhāsā.[1]

He also explains the logic behind naming a particular power. It is to be recalled that in each of the five powers (Sṛṣṭi etc.) all the five powers are present, yet each of them is so termed as to indicate the most predominant one in the group. A metaphor will elucidate it. The milk, though present in whole of her body, drips down through a cow's udder only. Likewise, the power of the Lord is all-pervasive and all-inclusive, yet it spreads fully through one power.[2]

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1. पंचवाहवृन्दचक्रयोरैकात्म्यानुसंधानं पात इति पातप्रकारः । एवं सृष्ट्यादिक्रमेऽपि
   पातोऽनुसंधेयः । यथोक्तं श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ -
   संवित्क्रमं देव शृणु वक्ष्यामि सुन्दर ।
   सृष्टिं स्थितिं च संहारानाख्याभासास्वरूपकम् ॥
   ज्ञानमात्रं च मेलापं शाक्तं शाम्भवसंयुतम ॥ M.M.P., p.97.

2. तत्तदुपरिक्तांशोपसंग्रहात् सृष्ट्यादीनाम् पृथग्व्यवस्था । यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ -
   दोहे व्याप्तं गवि क्षीरं स्तनाभ्यां प्रसृतम् यथा ।
   सर्वगा व्यापिनी सूक्ष्मा एकस्मिन् प्रसृता शिवा ॥ इति
   Ibid, p.101.

All these concepts predominate the later phase of the Krama system. This also testifies to its recency in origin.

With this āgama one comes to the close of the Krama list of the āgamas. But this simply shows the limitations of our knowledge and information at this stage. Numerous references made to and extracts quoted from the anonymous sources, simply labelled as the āgama,[1] will perhaps bear out the above statement.

In this connection it may also be pointed out that the āgamas named Brahmayāmala, Tantrarāja, Bhaṭṭāraka etc., have not been included ~~as has been done in certain quarters~~ among the Krama āgamas, as has been done in certain quarters.[2] Because in the first place, they belong to the general category of āgamas and, in the second place, the contents of the manuscript of the Brahmayāmala, available in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal,[3] and the study made by John Woodroffe of the Tantrarāja[4] do not present them as exclusive Krama āgamas. It is of course a different matter that they do contain useful material on the Krama system too, but not as the Krama

1. Vide, for instance, T.A.V., III, pp.132, 171; M.M.(S), p.45. etc.

2. Vide Abhi., pp.470-71.

3. MS. No.6392, Catalogue No.5892, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol.VIII (Tantras), Asiatic Scoeity of Bengal, pp.94-95.

4. Tantrarāja Tantra (A short analysis) Sir John Woodroffe, with a Preface by Yogi Śuddhānanda Bhāratī, Ganesh & Co., Madras.

system as such but as a part of the wider tantra literature. We have therefore not ventured to dilate on them at the moment.

6-B. NON-ĀGAMIC KRAMA WORKS

Here again the proposed discussion will be restricted to the exclusive Krama texts.

6-B(I). KRAMA-SŪTRA

About the Krama Sūtra certain remarks have already been made while discussing Kṣemarāja who, for the first time, invites our attention to this text. It was probably written in the Sūtra style as the title and the two extracts go to show. The most significant thing about it seems that it was originally written in the own vernacular of the author.[1] The necessary implication being that the Sanskrit version or rendering cited by him was done either by him or was done in his time. If this hypothesis be true, the Krama Sūtra in its original form might have been an older text than Abhinava. But in any case, it must belong to the same period as Abhinava does. This also shows that the trend of composing the Krama works in vernaculars, which later on was acknowledged to be a salient feature of the Krama literature, had its seeds in the early stages of the Krama history. The first of the two sūtras quoted by Kṣemarāja asks the aspirant to consume the objects of the sense which act like fetters, just as fire set ablaze

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1. तदुक्तं पूर्वगुरुभिः स्वभाषामयेषु क्रमसूत्रेषु । P.Hr., p.79.

consumes the fuel.[1] The second Sūtra lays down the twofold path towards self-realization. The first, which is characterized by inwardness, is known as the Krama Mudrā. This consists in turning from the outward to the inward. The second, which is called Mudrā-krama, consists in turning from the inward to the outward, that is, in looking upon the worldly objectivity as an expansion of the inner self.[2] Both these types are the spontaneous outcomes of Samāveśa. The second Sūtra has been commented upon by Kṣemarāja.[3] Maheśvarānanda also refers to the second Sūtra and quotes it together with its explanation by Kṣemarāja.[4] But it looks quite feasible that Maheśvarānanda did not have the actual text before him, because he does not appear to quote from the original itself but from the Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya instead, which contains both the Sūtras as well as its exposition. Moreover, he does not add a word of his own to it.

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1. यथा वह्निरुद्बोधितो दाह्यं दहति तथा विषयपाशान् भक्षयेत् ।

P.Hṛ., pp.77-78.

2. यथोक्तं क्रमसूत्रेषु -

क्रममुद्रया अंतःस्वरूपया बहिर्मुखः समाविष्टो भवति साधकः । तत्रादौ बाह्यात् अंतःप्रवेशः, आभ्यन्तरात् बाह्यस्वरूपे प्रवेशः आवेशवशात् जायते - इति सबाह्याभ्यन्तरोऽयं मुद्राक्रमः । Ibid, pp.91-92.

3. अत्रायमर्थः .... । Ibid, pp.92-94.

4. यदुक्तं श्रीक्रमसूत्रेषु - बाह्यादन्तःप्रवेशः अभ्यन्तराच्च बाह्यस्वरूपानुप्रवेशः इति । यथा च व्याख्यातं श्रीमत्क्षेमराजेन ... ।

M.M.P., p.166.

6-B(II). SIDDHASŪTRA

It is referred to only once in the Mahānayaprakāśa (T). There were two traditions with regard to proper order in which the various cycles are supposed to succeed one another for the purpose of worship. One of the traditions placed Anākhyā cakra immediately after Vṛnda-cakra and discarded the worship of the three cycles such as Sṛṣṭi, etc. This was probably the tradition followed by Jayaratha etc. One may infer this from Jayaratha's criticism of the Mahānayaprakāśa's attitude as representing opponent's tradition. The Mahānayaprakāśa did not agree with his view and maintained that after Vṛnda-cakra these cycles must be worshipped in order to ensure the total completion of Pūjana that results in acquisition of the tremendous capacity. In this context the Siddha Sūtra is quoted in support.[1] It held that the worship of all these cakras leads to the attainment of the Khecara state. And as a secondary outcome of the self-knowledge one is able to command the siddhis like Aṇimā etc., on their own accord.

In this connection it is to be specially noted that Śitikaṇṭha also refers to the Subhāṣita (pithy or noble

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1. अस्मन्मतेऽपि तदपि परिपूर्णार्थमिष्यते ।
एतत्समाप्तिवशात् प्रभावो हि प्रवर्तते ।। ...
पूजनात् खेचरत्वं हि सिद्धसूत्रेषु गण्यते ।
आत्मज्ञानात् प्रवर्तन्ते यथेच्छमणिमादयः ।। M.P.(T).8.26,28.

sayings) of some Siddha.[1] He has quoted some Siddhapāda earlier. Both, however, appear to be one, owing to the identity of the extract attributed to him. It is not known if the <u>Siddha-Sūtras</u> have to do anything with the <u>Siddha-Subhāsitas</u> if one is permitted to present them in this way. The only hurdle seems to be the language. Because, the <u>Subhāṣitas</u> have been composed in Prākṛta, whereas the <u>Siddhasūtras</u> is apparently a Sanskrit work. However, this is left out as an **unsettled** question.

The work, in question, belongs to a later date. Śivānanda, the author of <u>Mahānayaprakāśa</u> (T) is assigned to the second and third quarter of the twelfth century. The work, therefore, may be assigned to a slightly earlier period.

6-B(III). <u>MAHĀNAYA-PADDHATI</u>

It was a minor work and is referred to only once by Maheśvarānanda.[2] It is quoted to substantiate the contention that the external formalities amount to plain mockery. According to it, the strong and abiding reflection on the ultimate reality unobscured by anything constitutes the genuine form

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1. तथा च सिद्धस्य सुभाषितम् - पिथिव आपाता तेजु उकारुस ।

M.P.(S),pp.59-60; also see p.32.

2. इत्यादिनीत्या बाह्याडम्बरः केवलं विडम्बनामात्रफलकतया पर्यवस्यति ।

.... तथा च श्रीमहानयपद्धतौ -

परमनिरावरणात्मनि रूपे यो दृढतरः परामर्शः ।

पूजनमेतदितीत्थं प्रभुणा निरणायि यद्यपि प्रकृतम् ।

M.M.P.,pp.11-12.

of worship. This is a peculiar Krama thesis. In addition, the title of the text goes to prove its Kramic complexion. It might be chronologically slightly anterior to Maheśvarānanda who alone refers to it.

6-B(IV). KRAMODAYA

The Kramodaya seems to be an important work. Two extracts from it appear in the Parimala on the Mahārtha-mañjarī[1]. Amṛtānanda in his Yoginī-hṛdaya-dīpikā[2] refers to it twice, though citing the same passage. Bhāskarācārya in the Setubandha[3] commentary on the above also alludes to the work repeating the quotation just mentioned.

Its main accent seems to have been ritualistic. However, in one passage it refers to the five limiting conditions of the individual subject such as Rāga, Kalā, etc., due to which the universal self appears as personal self.[4] In the other he calls upon the aspirant to perform Dūti-yāga before he embarks upon the worship of nine powers stationed in the

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1. M.M.P., pp.50, 87.
2. Y.H.Ḍ., pp.266, 283.
3. Y.H.S.B., pp.286.
4. तदुक्तं श्रीक्रमोदये - रागो माया कला विद्या नियतिः काल एव च ।
पंचवर्ग्याश्रयाः सर्वे पाशाश्चेति प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

M.M.P., p.50.

body.[1] The stress on ritualism was so predominant that fivefold esoteric worship (Pañcamakāra) seems to have over-shadowed other things. Like sex in the former, wine occupies a place of eminence in yet another extract. According to it once the liquor, which is a sort of final oblation (Purṇāhuti) and is defined by harmony of 'I' and 'this' experience, gets in, it obliterates the duality; and the resulting pleasure comes to persist even though there is visibilly no object to cause pleasure.[2] Hence, it is meant to suggest that one should worship the external cycles only when one's mind has become stable and poised.

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1. एवं पीठपरामर्शस्य प्राधान्यं द्योतयितुं ह्यादौ स्त्रीयजनमारम्भणीयतयोद्भाव्यते ।
यथा श्रीक्रमोदये -

स्त्रियः सर्वेषां वर्णानां योगिन्यः स्युर्न संशयः ।
देहवद् योनिशुद्धिस्तु आत्मवल्लिंगशोधनम् ॥
योनौ नवादारीं न्यस्येल्लिंगे सप्तदशादारीम् ।
गुरुचक्रस्य पूजार्थं कुर्याद् योगिनिमेलनम् ॥
नवादायां तु मंत्रेण स्थापयेल्लिंगपीठवत् ।
शिवशक्त्यात्मभावेन पुरुषो मन्थकः स्मृतः ॥
मन्थयेदात्मनः शक्तिं मधुवत्कुलशोणितम् । M.M.P., p.87.

2. मन्त्रारणिमथनसम्भूतं इदन्ताहन्तासामरस्यरूपं मधुरूपं घृतपूर्णाहुतिं बहुशो हुत्वा परिस्फुरत्परमानन्दो भवेदित्यान्तरपूर्णाहुतिः । अतएव —

प्रविष्टेऽन्तः सिन्धुरसे भेदनिर्हरणात्मके ।
स्थैर्यमेति चमत्कारं विना विषयसंगतिम् ॥ इति

क्रमोदयोक्तरीत्या मनसि स्थिरीभूते बाह्यचक्रार्चनं कुर्यादित्याह - ।

Y.H.D., p.266; also see, pp.283,286.

In this connection an important point deserves careful attention. The verse quoted by Amṛtānanda and Bhāskararāya also occurs with little modification in the *Mahānayaprakāśa* (T)[1]. It forms part of the text and there is absolutely no hint of its having been borrowed from some other source. The first ever mention of the *Kramodaya* which finds in Maheśvarānanda and Amṛtānanda is not far away from him, hence the *Kramodaya* does not seem to be an old text. Maheśvarānanda also refers to the *Mahānayaprakāśa*. That means the two were different works. Now the question is which is the borrower. The whole situation is confusing. The answer depends upon another question — which work is earlier? If the *Kramodaya* is earlier the *Mahānayaprakāśa* must have borrowed from it, and if later, the *Kramodaya* must be the borrower. But, since (i) Śivānanda, the author of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*, belongs to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century, (ii) the *Kramodaya* is earliest referred to towards the close of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, and (iii) the verse in question is a part of the text and fits well in the context and conforms to the construction of the text, one may be tempted, for the time-being, to conclude that it is *Kramodaya* which appears to have borrowed from the *Mahānayaprakāśa* (T).

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1. प्रविष्टेऽन्तः शीघ्र (सं?से) भेदनिर्हरणात्मके ।
स्थैर्यमेति चमत्कारो विना विषयसंगतिम् ॥

M.P.(T).9.43.

6-B(V). AMĀVASYĀTRIMŚIKĀ

The Amāvasyātrimśikā seems to be an important text of the age of decadence. It was produced during the lull between Maheśvarānanda and Śitikaṇṭha who refers to it.[1] What was the real purport behind such nomenclature is a matter of guess today. Either it contained thirty verses or, like the Parātrimśikā, dealt with the three absolutic powers. Śitikaṇṭha has elsewhere quoted a verse bringing out the etymological meaning of the word Amāvasyā[2]. The verse is self-explanatory. What is important to note in this connection is that Ramyadeva describes the Krama system as the one steeped in or infused by the idea of Amāvasyā[3]. It, therefore, appears fairly certain to take this work as belonging to the Krama system.

This work was probably more famous as the Saṁvāda, because, the first of three verses quoted from the Amāvasyā-trimśikā, has been attributed to the Saṁvāda[4]. Otherwise, -

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1. M.P.(S),pp.9,13.
2. अमा नाम रवे रश्मिर्यस्यां वसति चन्द्रमाः ।
   अमायां वसते यस्मादमावस्या त्वतः स्मृता ।। Ibid,p.82.
3. शाक्तैरर्ककरैर्महाकालसंकर्षिणीकिरणैः चिद्रूपचन्द्रपीयूषरसचर्वणेन.. ...अमावस्या-
   वासनावासितः कोऽपि संप्रदायः उट्टंकितः । B.U.V.,p.29.
4. विश्रामस्थानम् परमात्मा महार्थः। तथा चोक्तम् संवादे -
   योऽसौ परापरः शान्तः शिवः सर्वगतो महान् ।
   अप्रमेयो ह्यनन्तश्च सर्वव्यापी महेश्वरः ।। इति स एव महार्थनामा ।
   M.P.(S),pp.13-14.

Saṁvāda as a loose expression stands for a dialogue or discourse. A perusal of the extract reveals that the book probably owed its name to the three aspects of the ultimate power of the Lord, the three aspects being - Will, Knowledge and Action. The present judgment is based on the second verse of the passage. In other words, it speaks of the transcendence-plus-immanence, all-pervasiveness, infinitude, ubiquity and equanimity of the Absolute. The intrinsic power of the Lord is all-powerful and, though one in itself, it accounts for the multiplicity owing to Her constituting the powers such as Will, Knowledge and Action. But this duality is nothing but functional when She is at work. Otherwise on retiring from activity, she rests in Śiva, the infinite Absolute and principle of harmony, holding these difference back in Herself.[1]

The esoteric idea of the Amāvasyā came into existence with reference to the Krama system with Ramyadeva who belongs to the first half of the 12th century. And it is referred to by Śitikaṇṭha, who flourished at the threshold of the 15-16th century. The work, therefore, may be placed somewhere during this intervening period.

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1. तथा च आमावस्यात्रिंशिकायाम् -

यो ऽसौ परापर: शान्त: शिव: सर्वगतो महान् ।
अप्रमेयो ह्यनन्तश्च व्यापी सर्वेश्वरेश्वर: ।।
तस्यापि सहजा शक्ति: सर्वशक्तिमयी परा ।
इच्छाज्ञानक्रियात्वेन सैवैका बहुधा स्थिता ।।
तस्या उदितरूपाया ये भेदा कार्यतो गता: ।
तानन्तस्तु समाहृत्य सामरस्ये शिवे स्थिता।। इति।

M.P.(S), pp.9-10.

6-B(VI). RĀJIKĀ

This seems to be a minor work of very late origin and has been mentioned once only by Śitikaṇṭha. As to the nature of the contents, it will suffice to say that it dealt with the real character of the great yāga, otherwise known as Madhya-yāga also. It has three varieties, namely, gross, subtle and the ultimate. In the first stage mind, intellect and ego-feeling are withdrawn in order to put an end to the emergence of mental uprisings (Cittavṛttis). In the second round the vital airs are withdrawn. Ultimately Prakṛti, the principle of pure awareness, makes an anxious present of herself to the Lord finding Him half-satiated. This is the land of unison, harmony. It is in this connection a verse is cited from the Rajika[1]. In the Viveka , Jayaratha refers to certain Rahasyarājikāyoginīs who were blessed, due to the grace of the divinity, with a beatific vision and attainment of true knowledge. What one is not supposed to miss in this context is that Rājikāyoginīs have been referred to as

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1. स्थूलसूक्ष्मपरस्त्रेधा मध्ययागः, सामरस्यमूर्च्चेयम्, तथा च श्रीराजिकायाम्

मुक्त्वाविश्वमशेषां वृत्तिं न यदागतः कुलेशानः ।

देव्या तदा स्वदेहश्चरुरत्र निवेदितः कुलाधिपते: ।।

इति तांश्चतुरो निवेद्य आकुलीभूता आत्मानं परावाग्रूपं समरसीभावयति

इति उपहारार्थः ।

M.P.(S),p.55.

belonging to the "different" system. Since the context is primarily occupied with the Kula system, the 'different' system means "other than the Kula". Hence, in the Kula context these Rājikā-yoginīs are to be remembered only and not worshipped.[1] It is not known if the Rājikāyoginīs and the *Rājikā* text are correlated. This episode also lends an additional weight to the thesis that it is most likely a Krama text.

Like its predecessor it also belongs to an age prior to Śitikaṇṭha.

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1. श्रीरहस्यराजिकायोगिनीभिः स्वभावाद् भगवत्याः प्रसादेन दृष्टं विग्रहाज्ज्ञानं लब्धम् ... । तदमूर्तत्वादिह ते केवलं [illegible] स्मर्तव्या एव, न तु विशेषाद् सम्पूज्याः पूर्वगुरुभिस्तथा नोपदिष्टाः इत्यर्थः ।

T.A.V.,XI,p.33 (Ah.29.)

CHAPTER SEVEN

KRAMA'S PLACE IN THE WIDER FRAMEWORK OF KASHMIR ŚAIVISM WITH AN EYE UPON ITS GENERAL TANTRIC CHARACTER

(A synthetic approach to correlation between basic structure of Tantra and Kashmir Śaivism vis-a-vis sixfold Artha and fourfold Upāya and its bearing on the Krama system.)

(344-351)

[Overall perspective of synthesis between the Śaiva metaphysics and the Tantricism (344) - Jayaratha's consistent approach to the problem (344) - Sixfold Artha defining the six approaches to Tantric understanding(345) - Synthesis between six Arthas and four Upāyas arrived at (349) - Conclusion: Nigarbhārtha and Kaulikārtha versus Śāktopāya, i.e., Krama (350)]

1. OVERALL PERSPECTIVE OF SYNTHESIS BETWEEN ŚAIVA METAPHYSICS AND TANTRICISM

Throughout all these pages an attempt has been made to point out and guage the quantum of the contribution made by the Krama system to the cause of metaphysics and mysticism of monism against the background of its twin personality condensed into one. These two aspects are its being a part of the philosophical complex known as Kashmir Śaivism in the first place and, at the same time, retaining the general tantric character in the second place. In this section, therefore, our main task would be to see how this synthesis is arrived at. In other words, an effort will be made to examine the perspective in which the sixfold tantric approach defined by the Arthas is coordinated with or corresponds to the fourfold approach of the Kashmir Śaivism spelt by the Upāyas. And in so doing the place of Krama is to be determined in this perspective.

2. JAYARATHA'S CONSISTENT APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

Maheśvarānanda and Jayaratha, the two savants of the Krama system, take up the issue. Maheśvarānanda regards the Mahārtha or Krama system as the ultimate among all the philosophical disciplines and the culminating point of all the six stages of tantric culture.[1] But this is hardly a

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1. योऽयं महाप्रबन्धेन उपक्रान्तो
   भावार्थः सम्प्रदायोऽर्थोऽग्निगर्भार्थश्च कौलिकः ।
   तथा सर्वरहस्यार्थो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ।। इत्याम्नायस्थित्या तत्तदशेषार्थ-
   तत्त्ववैचित्र्यसमष्ट्यधिष्ठानरूपतया महान् सर्वार्थभेदप्रभेदक्रोडीकारविचक्षणोऽर्थः
   प्राप्यं तत्त्वम् .. इति । M.M.P., p.183.

scientific approach. In fact it is dismissing outright the very issue out of the doctrinal enthusiasm. Jayaratha, on the contrary, is very balanced, logical and to the point.[1] The subsequent observations are, therefore, drawn from him.

3. SIXFOLD ARTHA DEFINING THE SIX APPROACHES TO TANTRIC UNDERSTANDING

The six ways or approaches to the understanding of the Tantra, as outlined by the Yoginī-hṛdaya, are - (i) Bhāvārtha, (ii) Sampradāyārtha, (iii) Nirgarbhārtha, (iv) Kaulikārtha, (v) Sarvarahasyārtha and (vi) Mahātattvārtha.[2] All being technical concepts it is no use rendering them into the English language. Let us see what they stand for.

Jayaratha, at the very outset, cautions that the traditionalists should not look for the reproduction of the

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1. Vide V.M.V., pp.136-140.

2. भावार्थः सम्प्रदायार्थो निर्गर्भार्थश्च कौलिकः ।
तथा सर्वरहस्यार्थो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ॥
एवमेतन्महेशानि षाड्विधं पारमेश्वरम् ।
व्याख्यानं सर्वतन्त्राणां पारम्पर्येण लभ्यते ॥

(Quoted from Y.H.(2.15), V.M.V.,p.136.

orthodox and conventional views. He is approaching them entirely from the point of view of their precise implications.[1] Except the methodology, he toes the line laid down adopted by the Yoginīhṛdaya tantra.[2]

BHĀVĀRTHA consists in the literal meaning according to the intention of the speaker at the time. It may even belong to the other sciences than the tantra proper. The same, despite its externality, is to be regarded as SAMPRADĀYĀRTHA, if it is meant for enlightenment owing to the exposition of self-knowledge etc. The only conditions it must comply with are that it should be consistent with the Śaiva teachings and uncensured by the teachers. Vedic passages like " आत्मा वा रे ज्ञातव्यो मन्तव्यः " and " सकृद् विभातोऽयमात्मा " furnish fine examples of the same. But there is one difficulty.

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1. इह ... इत्याद्युक्तं व्याख्यानं प्रतिपदं षोढा क्रियमाणं ग्रन्थविस्तराधानमात्रफलमिदानीं तात्पर्यमात्रगत्या उच्यते ।

V.M.V., pp. 136-137.

2. यदागमः,

अक्षरार्थो हि भावार्थः केवलः परमेश्वरि ।
सम्प्रदायो महाबोधरूपो गुरुमुखस्थितः ॥
निगर्भोऽपि महादेवि शिवगुर्वात्मगोचरः ।
कौलिकः स्वात्मसंवित्तिरात्मसंवित्तिपूर्वकः ॥
रहस्यार्थो महागुप्तः सद्यः प्रत्ययकारकः ।
महापरमतत्त्वार्थः परमात्मवदास्थितः ॥
शिवगुर्वात्मसंवादरूपेणार्थविभासकः ।
निरस्तसर्वसंकल्पविकल्पस्थितिपूर्वकः ॥
विद्यापीठनिबद्धेषु संस्थितः पिण्डसिद्धिदः ॥

Quoted from Y.H., ibid, pp. 138-39.

The self in the above quoted passages is represented to have shone only once (Sakṛdvibhāta), whereas Śiva is a continuously manifest principle. Similarly, these passages depict the self as knowable (Jñātavya) and thus reduce it to the status of an object. Consequently it would deserve its reference as 'this' instead of 'I', while the self-luminous Śiva is always a subject, an agent. According to Jayaratha no fundamental incongruity is involved here. In fact, Śiva, the principle of reality, never forsakes its agenthood even when he manifests the objectivity within. Because the objective multiplicity is an expression of his unfettered freedom. Since Śiva himself becomes an object, there is no discrepancy if he is referred to by 'this' pronoun.[1] The viewing of the manifold variety as essentially one with Śiva becomes possible only when objectivity is there. It is why the third type named NIGARBHĀRTHA consists in its emphasis on realisation of the internal character of multiplicity as Śiva by the pure self,[2] which may be Śiva, the teacher, or the aspiring self. If this process is continued, a stage comes when the

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1. Cp. स्वातन्त्र्यामुक्तमात्मानं स्वातन्त्र्यादद्वयात्मनः ।
   प्रभुरीशादिसंकल्पैर्निर्माय व्यवहारयेद् ॥ I.P.K.1.1.47.

2. Cp. आत्मैव सर्वभावेषु स्फुरन्निर्वृतचिद्वपुः ।
   अनिरुद्धेच्छाप्रसरः प्रसरद्दृक्क्रियः शिवः ॥ S.Dr.,1.2.

Universal Self is instinctively realized as principle of self-luminous pure awareness even in our empirical and phenomenal experiences. Since the prius of such awareness is self and the same is technically known as Kula,[1] the fourth type passes by the name of KAULIKĀRTHA.[2]

In the above noted stages what happens in that the emphasis is gradually shifted from 'this' to 'I'. In the first instance, the aspirant has to exert himself to realize this identity, whereas in the second this identity of the self with objectivity itself becomes a fact of experience. Here, too, once this process is regorously pursued further, immediate self-revelation takes place -- the objectivity not being identified with but transformed into pure subjectivity.[3] Since it is impossible for an unaccomplished lay man to appreciate it, it is termed as RAHASYĀRTHA (mystery) the fifth type. When even this stage is transcended and pure, alogical, irrelational immediacy prevails and there being no

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1. कुलमात्मस्वरूपं तु .... । V.M.V.,p.138.

2. Cp. स्वात्मैव सर्वजन्तूनाम् एक एव महेश्वरः ।
   विश्वरूपोऽहमिदमित्यखण्डामर्शबृंहितः ॥ I.P.K.4.1.1.

3. Cp. ततः स्फुटतमोदारताद्रूप्यपरिबृंहिता ।
   संविदभ्येति विमलाविकल्पस्वरूपताम् ॥ Ibid,4.6.

further destiny, it is designated as MAHĀ-PARAMA-TATTVĀRTHA,[1] the sixth type.

4. SYNTHESIS BETWEEN SIX ARTHAS AND FOUR UPĀYAS ARRIVED AT

Now, it may be noted that the first two stages, types or approaches obviously find an analogue in the Āṇava Upāya[2] which with the aid of external means tries to unfold the aspirant's real nature. The extrinsic means include, inter alia, usage of sacred syllables etc. Similarly, Nigarbhārtha and Kaulikārtha find their counterpart in the Śāktopāya[3]. Because, the Śāktopāya consists in processes designed to achieve the refinement of Vikalpas (logical constructions). The purification of logical construction or dualistic consciousness, by definition, means a thorough overhauling of the perspective with reference to objectivity. In simple words, the Śāktopāya consists in realising 'this' as an expression of 'I' (Sarvo Mamāyam Vibhavaḥ). Yet, despite this transformation, the Vikalpa remains. The Śāktopāya elevates the relation of duality into that of unity and harmony, but the relation itself does not vanish. Therefore, then comes

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1. Cp. तैषामिदं समाभाति सर्वतो भावमण्डलम् ।
   पुरःस्थमेव संवित्तिभैरवाग्निविलापितम् ॥ I.P.K.2.35.

2. इदं च द्विविधमपि व्याख्यानं वर्णाद्यात्माणवोपायरूपम् । V.M.V., p.137.

3. एतदपि प्रकारद्वयं विकल्पसंस्क्रियारूपतया शाक्तोपायात्मकम् ।
   Ibid, p.138.

Śāmbhava which corresponds to the fifth type, i.e., Rahasyārtha or Sarvarahasyārtha and consists in the indeterminate self-realization.[1] And the last stage, i.e., Mahāparamatattvārtha, is equalled by Anupāya which is the reality per se - Awareness pure and simple. In fact, Śāmbhava and Anupāya are not generally distinguished, because the Anupāya reflects the highest stage of the Śāmbhava. In that case the Śāmbhava would stand for both of the final types.

5. CONCLUSION: NIGARBHĀRTHA AND KAULIKĀRTHA VERSUS ŚĀKTOPĀYA i.e. KRAMA

Thus we see how the synthesis between the fundamental structure of the Kashmir Śaivism and that of the Tantra in general is brought about. It is to be noted that Krama is generally identified with Śāktopāya. Hence Śāktopāya on the one hand and Nigarbhārtha along with Kaulikārtha, on the other, provide the common ground where the trantra and Kashmir Śaivism meet. It is, however, beyond the scope of this section to go into the intricacies of the Śāktopāya etc., because the same is taken up for

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1. रहस्यशब्दाभिहितः शाम्भवोपायात्मा पंचमः ।

V.M.V., p.138.

detailed analysis in the very first chapter of the philosophical study. These lines are, therefore, intended to serve as a preliminary to the following section. But for Jayaratha it would not have been possible to find out the traditional, yet logical, attitude towards the two independent literatures - Tantra and Kashmir Śaivism - which have more points of contact than those of departure.

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